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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain 31 presentations from a conference on the role and practice of education in prisons. The three papers in part 1, Setting the Stage, examine the roles of education and prisons in society from historical and philosophical viewpoints. Panel presentations in part 2, Developing an Educational Model, offer three perspectives on prison education. A summary of small group discussions, questions, and commentary, and a paper supporting a liberal type of prison education follow. The third part, Evaluating Prison Programs, is a symposium. The principal paper proposing an evaluation system is followed by two discussions, questions, and commentary. Part 4 contains four presentations from evaluation workshops that (1) outline Stufflebeam's CIPP (Content, Input, Process, or Product) model and illustrate its use; (2) review problems of conducting evaluations in prisons and provide some evaluations; (3) summarize a task force report on measuring performance as a database for program evaluation, and (4) review literature supporting the effectiveness of cognitive developmental programs. The 13 workshop presentations in part 5 focus on curriculum. Four papers deal with moral development, two with cognitive development, three with the Alaska Experiment, and four with various topics--women's programs vocational programs, fine arts, and literacy. A conference overview concludes the proceedings. (YLB)

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PROCEEDINGS OF
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PRISON EDUCATION
ITS ROLE & PRACTICE IN THE MODERN PENITENTIARY

Victoria, British Columbia
October 13, 14, 15, 1981

J. Douglas Ayers
Editor

Sponsored jointly by

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in cooperation with
the Correctional Service of Canada

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PREFACE

The Planning Committee for the First National Conference on Prison Education hopes these Proceedings will serve two purposes. First, they will act as a record for Conference participants. Second, and more important, they will help to disseminate knowledge of recent advances in theory and practice concerning the education of prisoners to the wider audience of teachers and administrators both in prison systems and in school districts, community colleges and universities.

Those presenting papers were carefully selected. All are familiar with the theoretical and research literature as well as the more subtle issues and problems involved. All have some familiarity with the problems and interests of teachers and educational administrators in the prisons.

The interest of the University of Victoria in prison education is long term. The University has been responsible for offering a coordinated program of university courses in federal prisons in British Columbia since 1972.

The interest of the Canadian Association for Adult Education in this conference was to raise for public discussion and debate the quality of learning opportunities available to inmates in Canada. The CAAE's Standing Committee on Learning and Corrections intends to pursue this interest in the future through a program of action-research, public awareness and advocacy.

The Committee wishes to express appreciation to the authors for the effort and thought that went into the preparation of their manuscripts. We also wish to thank Tom Lietaer, Conference Officer and Marie Bachand, Conference Secretary, for all their work that went into this most worthwhile conference.

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INTRODUCTION

This Conference was developed around the theme "The Role and Practice of Education in the Modern Penitentiary." In selecting the theme, the Planning Committee envisaged five main sub-themes or components: (1) Setting the Stage, (2) Developing an Educational Model, (3) Evaluating Prison Programs, (4) Evaluation Application Workshops, and (5) Curriculum Application Workshops.

Part One, "Setting the Stage", examines the roles of education and prisons in society, especially from historical and philosophical points of view. The first paper brings an historical perspective to education, particularly moral education. Michael Ignatieff distinguishes clearly between three approaches to moral education: the confrontational or individual therapy of Yochelson, the just community of Kohlberg, and the developmental-liberal education thrust of the University of Victoria Program. He also clarifies the obligation of teachers when confronted with moral issues, such as the legitimacy of punishment or racial prejudice.

In the second paper, Arnold Edinborough takes the position that the aims of education are two-fold: to develop a functionally literate and technologically competent worker; and to prepare socially aware human beings for valid roles in society. He argues that the former is usually done quite well, but both our educational institutions and society as a whole have failed in the latter. In general, he supports the use of a humanities approach for the reform of anti-social persons but argues for more differentiation particularly in the treatment and housing of prisoners. He also recommends that separate centres be established for pilot projects in education and training.

In the third paper, Mme. Céline Hervieux-Payette proposes that the prison business is educational business because of the nature of crime, the nature of education, and the purposes of penitentiaries. She supports this proposition by stating that the first task of education is to enhance the ability of citizens to handle freedom with all the responsibility that freedom involves. Mme. Hervieux-Payette also argues that education can rehabilitate, that criminal activity is to a large extent a matter of choice, and that all prisoners retain normal rights which include those to a further education.

A panel intiated the sub-theme, "Developing an Educational Model." The presentations offered three perspectives on prison education and were intended as preparation for the small group discussions to follow. Roby Kidd, as former Chairman of the OISE Study Team which reviewed and reported on "Education in Federal Prisons", presents a comprehensive review of what we know about the prisoner as a learner and as a student. He also outlines the additional information and research that is needed to make decisions for promoting education. Selected data collected in the OISE review are appended.

Keith Whetsone provides a personal anecdote showing how he got involved in education and his perceptions of the effect on himself and others. He also gives us some understanding of the thinking patterns of the typical recividist prisoner, and shows in particular that prisoners do weigh circumstances and do make conscious choices.

Stephen Duguid argues that prisoners are unique not only because of their situations and backgrounds, but especially because of the cognitive and moral reasoning structures imposed by those situations and backgrounds. He hypothesizes that decision-making is a powerful component in repeated criminal activity and that education, particularly a liberal education, can have a decisive impact on the quality of that decision-making process. Duguid calls for a three-part educational program: a carefully constructed curriculum; an informal counselling component; and a learning environment based on principles of justice.

After the three panel papers, there was a short question and answer period. Conference participants were then assigned to one of eight groups where discussion focused on the following three questions: (1) What is the purpose of a prison in modern society; (2) What is the role of education in a prison; and (3) What kinds of programs should be developed to fulfill this role? Immediately following these discussions, the eight leaders met with Ian Morrison who developed and presented a summary. Panel members then commented on the summary and conference participants had an opportunity to ask questions and make comments.

The final paper under the sub-theme, "Developing an Educational Model", provides substantial support for those positions which propose a liberal type of education for prisoners in a humane community that promotes the development of interpersonal skills. Lucien Morin reviews Foucault's analysis of the western judicial systems and prisons and shows how they contribute to the logic of the argument in favour of an educational model. He then argues that penitentiary education has typcially been justificatory, based on behaviour differences that are to be condemned, corrected, or replaced, and lack to be reconstituted into the normative and legitimate. The alternative is the positive reconcilliatory model which sees in the differences in behaviour, enrichment and sharing, mutuality and rapprochement.

The third sub-theme, "Evaluating Prison Programs", was presented through a symposium. The principal paper by Joe Hudson analyzes the four purposes of imprisonment: incapacitation, deterrence, retribution, and rehabilitation; and the conditions under which education is conducted. He then proposes some features of a desirable evaluation system, particularly the assumption of both formative and summative roles, and the evaluation of the input, context and output phases.

As the first discussant Todd Rogers, while in general against Hudson, argues that one cannot conclude, as Hudson has done, that education does not work. Three reasons prevent such a conclusion: (1) lack of clarity of the definition of evaluation and its roles, (2) lack of appropriate evaluation practice, and (3) potentially confusing lines of authority and apparent low priority given to prison education. He also questions Hudson's routinized information system as being adequate for the evaluation task.

Robert Ross supports Hudson's emphasis on process but believes that it is equally important to stress two other aspects of program evaluation: (1) the adequacy of the conceptualization, and (2) evaluation of the outcomes. He also argues that educational programs should have multiple goals and multiple measures to determine such additional factors as institutional adjustment and effects on the prison itself. The symposium concluded with questions and commentary.

The Conference also included a number of workshops started by position papers in order to promote discussion. These workshop papers fall into two broad categories: Evaluation and Curriculum.

There were four presentations in the Evaluation Workshops. Abram Konrad outlines Stufflebeam's CIPP Model and illustrates its use in evaluating educational programs in two Alberta prisons. Douglas Ayers reviews some of the problems encourntered in conducting evaluations in prisons and summarizes formative and summative evaluations conducted on the University of Victoria Program. Todd Rogers summarizes the report of his task force on measuring performance as a data base for program evaluation, which was conducted for the Education and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada. In the last presentation of the group, Robert Ross summarizes his review of the literature prepared for the Educaiton and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada. This review provides additional support for the effectiveness of cognitive development programs.

There were four papers that dealt directly or indirectly with moral development. For various reasons, none supported the Kohlberg model. Ian Wright proposes the integration of problem-solving abilities with moral reasoning in a non-Kohlbergian approach. Jacquelyn Nelson and Hendrik Hoekema disagree with Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development. They argue that morality develops from concrete practice and describe the steps in the process of identity change. Wayne Knights suggests that Kohlberg's model of moral development cannot be applied in the prison seting; it can be useful, however, as a heuristic frame of reference when using the humanities to develop cognitive thinking skills. Finally Lewis and McKechnie argue that a methodology to develop perceptual, linguistic, and cognitive skills should be based on the theories and practices and Ellis, Whorf, and Feuerstein.

Two papers deal directly with cognitive development. Paul Gendreau concludes that effective programs for delinquents and adult criminals must be multi-faceted and emphasize cognitive development and training in interpersonal problem-solving skills. Campbell and Davis report on a self-instruction and video feedback training program which signficantly reduced cognitive impulsivity in prisoners.

Three presentations involve the Alaska Experiment. In the first paper, Randall Ackley explains the conditions necessary to promote the education of native Indians. In the second paper, he outlines the experiemental University Within Walls program operated by the University of Alaska in the state prisons. The third paper by Beverly Grogan was prepared to accompany a demonstration of the use of micro-computers in prison education.

The last four papers deal with a variety of topics. Gillian Sandeman presents the case for programs for women that are more tailored to individual needs, and that are non-traditional and community based. Duncan MacRae predicts that changes in the apprenticeship system, self-paced learning packages, interactive presentations of courses by satellite and telephone, and the use of local community college resources will better provide for the vocational needs of prisoners in the 80s. Brian Fawcett explains the role of fine arts, in particular, Creative Writing as an essential cultural component in prison education. Audrey Thomas reviews the various concepts of literacy and shows that ther eare large numbers of prisoners with low levels of educational attainment in need of functional literacy training.

The Conference closed with a summing up in which three participants gave their impressions of the conference and Glen Farrell concluded with the highlights.

PART I
SETTING THE STAGE

MORAL EDUCATION AS A REFORM MOVEMENT: A HISTORIAN'S PERSPECTIVE

Michael Ignatieff

In conferences like this, it has become fairly common to ask a histori to initiate proceedings with a vast and edifying historical panorama of the subject. It is a flattering role to be asked to assume, but it is one which has its dangers. It is, I have decided, an essentially religious role. Like the grace at a meal, like the priestly invocation at a prayer breakfast of politicians and generals, a historian's introduction risks being treated as pious prolegomena, as a soothing aperitif, soon forgotten once the real business gets underway. A historian who wants to be useful to a Conference like this, and not merely edifying, has to find some way of being as difficult, uncomfortable and contenious as possible, without actually offending his audience.

A historian of prisons has special problems in this regard because a certain view of prison history--Nothing Works--has acquired much the same incantatory obviousness as the Lord's Prayer. If I were to spend the next hour of your time telling you, once again, with all appropriate qualifications, that Nothing Works, you would certainly be entitled to feel you had been forced to listen to a sermon on a text you already knew by heart. What can I tell you that you don't already know?

What most people actually want from a historian is an impossibility--a history of the present. In one sense, of course, all history is a history of the present: the past is only knowable through the eyes and in the language of the present. But the present itself --the eye which sees--cannot itself be seen. So I cannot be the impartial spectator of your proceedings--however much I would like that priestly confessorial role.

So what can I do for you ?

I would like to treat the current revival of interest in prison education, and more specifically the renewed belief in the rehabilitativ potential of 'moral education', as a reform movement, and to examine it as I would examine similar reform movements in the past. In a strict epistemological sense, as I have already said, the project is impossible. The subject is much too close. Indeed, the subject is YOU yourselves. I am more used to monologues with the dead, with Howard, Bentham and Beccaria, than with living subjects of history like yourselves. Yet the challenge of such a history of the living, impossible as it is, remains too attractive to pass up. Provided that you know that I know that the project is impossible, I can proceed without arousing false expectations.

Reading over the material sent to assist my preparation--the OISE review of correctional education in Canada, the evaluations of the Matsqui program, and major articles by Ayers, Duguid, Cosman, Morin and others, I was struck, first of all, by the fact that the movement for moral education in prisons has revived some of the most ancient debates of philosophy within the setting of the total institution. 'Moral education' is centrally concerned with such questions as:

Is there a non-contestable definition of virtue ?

Can virtue be taught ?

And in specific relation to prison, advocates of 'moral education' have been asking:

Do criminals display consistent moral dispositions ?

Can such dispositions be changed ? Specifically, what is the connection, if any, between moral understanding and moral behaviour?

Why, a future historian of moral education might ask, have such ancient questions of philosophy returned to the agenda of correctional administrators and educational theorists in the last 15 years ? Why, specifically, the emphasis on the moral dimensions of human behaviour, not merely in criminology, but in educational theory in general ? There is something more than mere fashion at work here. As a historian, I can only dimly discern the outlines of what seems to be an important shift in the intellectual history of the last generation: a reaction, within constituencies often as irreconcilable as the Moral Majority and the women's liberation movement, against moral relativism, especially but not only in sexual matters since the Sixties. I want to stress how multifaceted, how contradictory this reaction against moral relativism has been. Kohlberg's own writings on moral education, to take one prominent example, appeared at the end of the Sixties and gained some of their impact from their rather ascetic and rigorous insistence on the possibility of an education in virtue at a time of tumultuous personal and public debate about the implications of sexual and personal liberation. His own political orientation, however,was consistent with the progressive liberal social democratic views of the Sixties which his ethical positions seemed to put into question. The political message of his brand of moral education was that the legitimacy of modern societies ought to be based on the justice of their distribution of rights and goods and that the order of such societies could only be maintained by consensual attachment to norms and not by force. Such views, interestingly enough, had appeal to figures much further to the Left, for example Jurgen Habermas, whose name and work have been associated with a critique of liberal democratic societies' weakly relativist tolerance and its inability to develop a humanist ethics permitting non-authoritarian dialogue and communication.

At the same time, however, 'values education' meant something radically different to the constituency we now loosely call the Moral Majority. Their attack on the moral relativism of the Sixties --on abortion on demand, sex education in the schools, pornography--whether informed by Christian fundamentalism or not, makes a strident claim for absolutism in ethics which is irreconcilable with Kohlberg's or Habermas' position. While seeking to provide experimental validation for the claim that virtue is a cultural universal, Kohlberg's writings repeatedly stress (1) that the moral path for an individual may require him to disobey the law, (2)that while virtue itself is uncontestable, there are always specific contexts in which the appropriate moral course is contestable, and (3) that there is no behavioural profile --no bag of virtues (cleanliness, obedience etc) which incarnates virtue.

The 'moral education' movement in prisons, therefore, is the beneficiary and the product of a moral reaction against the Sixties, and against liberal tolerance in market societies more generally. But is a reaction which speaks in antithetical voices. Not surprisingly, therefore, there seems to be a persistent tension in correctional education between those who want to teach virtue and those who want to teach the way of virtue, between those who wish to confront the values of the convicted and replace them with others, in so far as this is possible, and those who want to teach convicts the nature of moral reasoning, without directly attempting to supplant the individual's structure of self-justification.

This tension can be seen in three of the approaches to values education in prison during the Seventies. The first approach, an individual therapy model, is not specifically informed by moral development theory as such, but by an adaptation of psychoanalytic techniques for a prison education context. I am thinking here of Yochelson's work with prisoners at Saint Elizabeth's in New York in the early Sixties. Yochelson abandoned therapy techniques derived from psychoanalysis--especially silent, supportive listening--and went on the offensive, directly attacking the structure of excuses offered by criminals for their behaviour. To quote Yochelson, he was aiming at a 'total destruction of a criminal's personality, including much of what he considered the "good parts".' Yochelson conceived of rehabilitation as a secular equivalent of the conversion experience, and gave the teacher-therapist a sacerdotal role as the 'responsible agent of change' into whose hands the convict surrendered himself. Yochelson's procedures epitomize what might be called the 'absolutist' pole (or temptation) in moral education: explicitly expressed contempt for a criminal's attempts at self-justification served as the catharsis for a re-making of the criminal's personality.

The second model, Kohlberg's just community, can be distinguished from the Yochelson confrontational model in two ways. Unlike Yochelson, Kohlberg took seriously the problem that the moral legitimacy of the agent of change--the teacher,the punishing institution itself--must be established before moral education can take place at all. Working on the assumption that prisoners could not be expected to learn the value of justice within an unjust institution, Kohlberg and his colleagues set up a living unit within the Connecticut Women's Correctional Centre at Niantic in 1971 which was run,by staff and inmates, as a democratic self-governing community. Prolonged experience of justice as 'a way of life' was supposed to create the conditions and the personal willingness necessary for the development of a shared commitment to justice in human dealings. The second contrast with the Yochelson approach lay in the rejection of a Svengalian change agent--the doctor/therapist is replaced by the peer group of inmates and staff, each of whom is supposed to confront each other's shifts and evasions on the rocky road to virtue.

The third approach I can only characterize at my peril since it is epitomized by the Matsqui program, some of whose administrators are in the room tonight. As far as I can judge, however, the Matsqui program separates the school experience from the prison experience as much as possible, and therefore has not attempted that integration of education with the living unit which was a characteristic of the Niantic experiment. While the prison school itself is run on just community lines as far as possible, it is conceived of as an exemplary island within the walls.

More importantly, Matsqui makes no attempt to break down an inmate's structure of self-justification. Moral education is approached obliquely through standard university courses in the humanities and social sciences. These focus on dilemmas of moral action, but they do not teach virtue as such. Stephen Duguid has described the pedagogical approach as follows:

> We do not attempt to directly affect the value system of the individual student, the usual tactic of programs emphasizing affective education. For instance, if the students we are concerned with are excessively egocentric, this manifests itself in an equally extreme ethnocentrism and in political terms in an intolerance of other people's cultures and practice. By emphasizing academic work in history, and in this case anthropology, we attack the manifestations of this consciousness and thereby hope to affect the source. The connection, however, is theirs to make; we neither teach moral rules, nor rely on abstract principles such as justice or equality.

The point of this schematic contrast is to argue that 'moral education' as a reform movement seems sharply divided between those who would adhere to the'confrontational' absolutism of Yochelson, and those who would support the more oblique 'developmental' approach at Matsqui. There are those who wish to confront an inmate's structure of self-justification and break it down and those who simply seek to elucidate the nature of moral action in general in the hope that it will lead to personal insight and behavioural change.

There is a second, and equally basic division, between those who believe there do exist reliable techniques of 'moral education' which can translate the development of moral reasoning capacity into the capacity for moral action itself, and those who insist that rehabilitation is a 'conversion experience' which can be facilitated by education but which essentially must begin with the inmate's own will. This division between those who conceive of rehabilitation as a matter of technique, and those who understand it as psychic conversion has been fundamental to the history of prison reform. An environmentalist and behaviouralist science of man, erected on Lockian epistemology in the 18th century, provided the ideology of man as a malleable animal which sustained faith in the reformative promise of Bentham's simple idea in Architecture--Panoptial supervision--as well as the Howardian remedy of solitary confinement. This behaviourist's concept of man has sustained 'technicist' approaches to criminal rehabilitation such as token economy, behaviour modification, and 'work therapy.' What is common to these approaches has been the idea that virtuous conduct can be made habitual through the routinization of behaviour. Now almost every moral education theorist is strongly opposed to the behavioural determinism implicit in this conception of man, and yet as Lucien Morin has pointed out, some of the technicist bias of behavioural therapies has crept into some formulations of moral education. He criticizes the tendency of some moral education theorists to argue that 'good reasoning' suffices for good action to ensue. Morin insists, rightly I would think, that the connection between clear moral thinking and the capacity for moral action is highly complex. As he puts it,'truth is not a prime mover. (It) does not trigger automatic action or conduct, it does not effectuate instinctive reaction.' If this is so, it is fallacious to believe that a technique of moral education exists which is capable of effecting a criminal's will through the development of moral insight. Rehabilitation, he argues, is a cathartic drama, a transformation, not merely of moral reasoning, but of the whole emotional and volitional structure.

If this is so,rehabilitation is an irreducibly individual drama, dependent on the moral qualities and charisma of the teacher, and on the will of the criminal. The project is ineluctably dependent on the quality of its agents, and not on the quality of its techniques. Its success requires resources which are beyond price, and not technologies which can be purchased and duplicated.

This tension between those who subscribe to 'technical' and 'cathartic' conceptions of rehabilitation ought to be traced in turn to differences as to whether a science of criminal motivation is possible. The moral education movement has been based on the attempt, most notably in Yochelson and Samenow, to construct a science of criminal motive to replace the socio-environmental and medical models of criminality which appeared to leave no room conceptually for the idea that criminality was moral behaviour chosen by a responsible agent. There is much to be said for a theory of criminal behaviour which insists that while socio-environmental situations may induce a 'disposition to offend', each individual retains the capacity to make a choice in particular situations. But moral development theorists do not always attend closely to the consequences of this emphasis on individual choice for any theory of criminal behaviour as patterned regularity. There seems to be an implicit tension between insisting that criminals as individuals are free to chose and arguing that there is such a thing as a 'criminal personality' which consistently choses according to a 'retarded' or 'egocentric' or 'deficient' moral calculus. Both Yochelson and Samenow's concept of a 'criminal personality' and Kohlberg's theory of a unitary and universal process of moral development assume and indeed assert that it is possible to construct a science of the moral motives of criminals which would apply equally to a professional burgler, an adolescent rapist, a casual opportunity thief, a middle-class business embezzler or the wife who murders her husband in a fit of rage. Historically speaking, the search for a theory which would unify the meaning of all of these different criminal dispositions has been the criminological equivalent of the alchemists' search for the philosophers' stone. Moral development theorists seem well aware that socio-environmental and medical theories of crime have come to grief by positing a unitary object--the criminal--as the object of their discourse. As Ayers has said of the medical model, for example, its most 'fundamental limitation' is that it is 'based on the unfounded assumption that personality is consistent across situations.' 21

Yet there is an equal danger that moral development theorists will erect an equally fictitious object of theory--the criminal personality, always and everywhere progressing through the six stages of moral development. Now, I am not saying that there are no behavioural regularities in criminal subjects--to do so would be to deny the epistemological possibility of social science itself. But I am saying that all theories of aggregate behaviour are nothing more than heuristic devices for the divination of the meaning of individual acts. These acts are always, in some marginal degree or other, deviations from the mean of theory. This must be so,I want to stress, if we take seriously the idea that criminals are responsible actors. If our theories grant them 'the freedom to chose' then our theories must accept that their criminal careers have an irreducibly individual shape. It is a humbling indication of the limits of modern social science, I would argue, that the most analytically sophisticated account of criminal motivation ever written is Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment. Let us also keep in mind that it is an account of one case. Now there can be no social science of individual cases. We must recognize this however much we may yearn for what Roland Barthes has called 'the impossible science of the individual subject.' If there cannot be a science of the individual subject, there cannot be a technology of rehabilitation which will 'deliver' reformed subjects irrespective of the moral qualities of its agents. The critical variable in a rehabilitation process would not be technique, but insight and will, specifically the insight to detect what is particular, rather than general, to the destiny of a subject.

My point here is that there is a vital tension, within moral education theory, between the stress on individual responsibility and the stress upon the scientific regularity observeable in the moral judgement of criminal subjects. There is a relation between this tension and the tendency of some writers on moral education to refer to criminals both as responsible adults and as 'morally retarded' children, suffering from variously described ethical 'deficits' or 'lacks.' I would have thought that in logical terms the twin ideas of rationality and responsibility were not susceptible of qualification. Behaviour is either responsible or it is not, either rational or not--if not according to the standards of the perceiving subject, then according to the phenomenology of the actor. The commonly accepted criminal plea of 'diminished responsibility' is, in some logical sense, a violation of the plain meaning of the word responsible.

I cannot help thinking that the tendency to describe criminals as responsible legal subjects and as retarded children bespeaks a latent desire to have it both ways. On the one hand, responsibility has a profound emotional and ideological appeal for anyone raised in our kind of society. There is deep recurrent resistance to etiological theories which appear to eliminate the element of choice in criminal action. Even more basically, responsibility is the necessary and sufficient condition for the legitimacy of the penal sanction itself. At the same time, we call the same responsible adults children because we wish to deny their structure of self-justification the right to argument and rebuttal which we do normally grant adult self-justifications. We do so, because to categorize them as children is to legitimize our own right to give them moral instruction. We call them adults to justify punishment; we call them children to justify our therapies. We cannot have it both ways.

Historically, a number of adult human groups have been designated as children by white, masculine holders of power and property: Mathus called the English poor children because they did not obey his conception of the calculus of reproduction appropriate to their income; missionaries have described various native peoples in the path of the white frontiers as children because they would not abandon certain religious practices; the Victorian paterfamilias regarded his wife as a child in need of protection; one of the earliest 'scientific' designations of the insane in the early asylum era was that they were children in adult's bodies. What each of these examples has in common is the use of the word 'child' to describe anyone whose actions, beliefs and practices the perceiver cannot or will not understand as rational in terms of his own interest and beliefs.

In the specific instance of criminals, Kohlbergian stage theory is liable to quite contradictory uses: it can be used simply to designate certain reasonings as childish and its reasoners therefore 'in need' of adult counselling, or it can be used as a heuristic device to illuminate the phenomenological plausibility of certain moral reasoning patters to the actors and perceivers alike. Moral stage theory, in other words, can either be used to justify moral absolutism, or to understand appartently irrational or irresponsible reasoning. 'Understanding' in this latter sense need not imply toleration or acceptance. To treat criminals as adults and to attempt to understand the rationale of their actions imply, as Scriven has written, 'neither tolerance, nor respect' for those actions. It means only that we must respect them as adult persons.

What is at stake here in the tension between thinking of criminals as adults or children is not merely the issue of whether we ought to respect them as moral agents. What is at issue is the nature of moral education's analytical response to a criminal's structure of self-justification. To use David Matza's terminology, many offenders develop a vernacular of self-justification which typically includes strategies of neutralization to shield them from the implications of the fact that their behaviour violates the value system of the society as a whole. The first of these techniques, you will recall, consists in a denial of responsibility. It is interesting, that the medical and socio-environmental models of crime have passed from the textbooks of criminology into the vernaculars of criminals themselves and serve as structures of self-excuse. The feed-back effects of social science on their own objects has been cleverly satirized in that line in West Side story: "I'm depraved on account of I'm deprived.' The second tactic of neutralization in Matza's schema is denial of injury: i.e. the victims weren't hurt or they could afford the loss. The third is denial of victim (we weren't hurting anyone, or they had it coming.) The fourth is condemnation of the condemner (everybody is crooked.), and the fifth is an appeal to higher loyalties: i.e. I didn't do it for personal advantage, but because I had to. Matza's typology has been criticized for its assumption that all of these excuses are constructed in terms of the dominant value system. Jock Young and others have argued that some criminals' self-justification take the form, not of attempts to excuse themselves in terms of dominant values, but of denials of the value system itself, or more specifically, denials of society's right to punish them.

If it is true that criminals commonly seek to extenuate the moral turpitude of their actions by indicting the social injustice of society at large or by denying the legitimacy of its right to punish, it becomes a critical issue for a theory of moral education to determine exactly what response to such a vernacular of self-extenuation is justifiable. It is this issue, I would argue, which raises in starkest form the inherent conflict I have been describing throughout this paper between an 'absolutist' conception of moral education and one which sees its purposes as the clarification of the inherent ambiguity of moral choice.

What precise obligations do moral development teachers have when confronted with prisoners who deny the legitimacy of punishment either in general or their own individual case ? In his evaluation of the education program at Drumheller institution in 1973, Douglas Ayers argued forcefully that a prison teacher was under a strict obligation to provide a normative defense of the society's dominant values. I quote:

> It is most important that instructors with a radical orientation not be used for either university or other programs. . . .In general, inmates have led relatively unstructured lives and have not been exposed to society's traditional values. It is most important then that instructors be in sympathy with the overall goals of the educational program which should be to provide structured and integrated courses with a view to developing the inmate's value system so that he will more easily integrate with society when he returns to the street. It may be appropriate to use the literature of dissent or study tactics for changing society's institutions if one has been brought up with middle class values, but such an orientation is completely inappropriate for the rehabilitation of inmates.

The OIE S review of Canadian correctional education, completed in 1978, singled out this paragraph for special praise. 'This level of insight into correctional education,' they wrote,'is an extremely rare occurrence.'

What is at issue here is not merely the question of whether political qualifications should be enforced in the hiring of prison teachers, but the nature of their ethical obligations to the institution and to their students. At least three distinct normative positions could conceivably be required of a prison teacher:

1. that the teacher must refuse to allow prisoners to take refuge in a vernacular of self-extenuation;

2. that a teacher must offer normative justification for the exercise of the penal sanction in both general and individual cases;

3. that a teacher should adopt a positive attitude in his teaching towards this society's existing distribution of rights, income, authority and status.

Ayers' position, cited above, would appear to require teachers to observe all three requirements. I would argue that a teacher is under obligations in respect of 1 and 2, but not in respect of 3. A teacher is required, it seems to me, to argue against prisoners' attempts to excuse criminal behaviour, both in general and in their own case. Stephen Duguid's work on history teaching at Matsqui makes it clear that this obligation arises even when the subject is as apparently distant from an inmate's case as general theories of historical causation. As he has shown, prisoners find a crude Marxist economic determinism consonant with their own project of construing themselves as the victims of circumstance. Obviously, in a situation in which a prisoner insists that all men everywhere are pawns in the game of history, a teacher is, I believe, under an obligation to argue that human agents are capable of both chosing and adapting circumstance.

As to the second requirement, I think a penal educator is under an obligation to present the range of arguments which have been offered historically as a justification of the penal sanction, as well as those which have been made against it. While the arguments against the legitimacy of the penal sanction, offered by anarchists at least since the time of Godwin, are philosophically respectable, it would be inconsistent for a penal institution to hire an anarchist, and it would be perverse for an anarchist to offer himself for the position. This obligation to be able to justify the penal sanction applies only in general. I cannot see how an instructor could be obliged to defend the symmetry or fairness of individual sentences. Indeed if he becomes aware of any remediable injustice in individual cases, he is under an obligation to represent the inmate's interests to the institution, the parole board and the courts, in so far as he is able.

Thus I am prepared to accept that a teacher in prison is under different obligations in terms of the content of his arguments than a teacher in other settings. Thus far, and with qualifications,I agree with Douglas Ayers. However, I disagree that thosehe terms 'social radicals' can be legitimately barred from positions in prison education on the grounds that they adopt a critical and negative position towards the existing distribution of wealth and power in society.

Isn't it the case that moral life is difficult in this society precisely because its institutions violate those expectations which its ideology of justice arouses ? Criminals are not the only ones who find it hard to understand why their obligations to be just are unaffected by the fact that the society which is the author of these obligations consistenly violates their terms. Modern liberal democratic societies are the first to actually attempt to order themselves by the standards of justice, but as Tocqueville and others have pointed out, no standard is more exacting in practice, and no standard is more vulnerable to rational critique as hypocrisy. Fred Hirsch, the English economist, has described the dilemma of expectations created when a society tries to live by justice as its justification:

> Society is in turmoil because the only legitimacy it has is social justice; and the transition to a just society is an uncertain road strewn with injustice. This is the awkward stage that has been reached through the working out of the modern western enlightenment. The central fact of the modern situation is the need to justify. That is its moral triumph and its unsolved technical problems.

The prison is at the core of this 'legitimation crisis': to punish justly, a society must itself be just. It is not, and as such, constantly generates a vernacular of self-extenuation in those who break its laws. Now, the legitimacy of those sanctions which punish murder, rape, and cruelty is not conditional on the legitimacy of the punisher. Even in a society so unjust as modern Chile or Khymer Rouge Cambodia, the Kantian moral imperative still applies. The legitmacy, however, of those range of offenses defined by our laws of property is more historically contingent. There are a whole range of minor offenses, concerned with drugs, prostitution, commercial embezzlement, which may be illegal in law, but which do not seem to me, at least, to be proscribed by natural law. Lest it be thought that this qualification of the legitimacy of punishment for property offenses be regarded as a modern radical deviation, it should be said that since Aquinas at least, jurisprudence has debated the limits of property right, especially in relation to the needs claim of the poor and disadvantaged.

The point is that the legitmacy of modern property law and the punishments which derive from it is contestable, and has been throughout the history of jurisprudence. A moral education program which refuses to face this problem, on the grounds that consideration of such issues may simply enlarge an inmate's vocabulary of self-justification, is failing to confront inmates with the real difficulty of living a moral life in a society such as ours: a difficulty which consists in living justly in an unjust world.

Thus a teacher is under an obligation to argue that the injustice of this particular society is not so great as to exonerate individuals of their moral responsibility for their actions, but he is under no obligation to say more than that. Hence I cannot see any grounds in principle why any political subject should be excluded from a values curriculum in prison. To take deliberately contentious examples, I can see no reason, for example, why history courses should not expose inmates to the frquently systematic racism which runs through the history of white attitudes towards native peoples, East Indians and orientals in this province. If a native person decides to construe this history as explaining or justifying his own personal history of crminality, a teacher is under an obligation to argue the limits of the social determination of individual acts. But to exclude the facts of this province's history would be to make a life of moral virtue so implausible in the real world as to be a joke.

More generally, I would argue that prison educators must accept the fact that the existing social sciences, anthropology, history and sociology cannot be offered to inmates in the expectation that they will either validate the existing social structure or its values. Thus I am bound to disagree, once again, with Douglas Ayers, who has written:

> There are a number of problems associated with teaching a sociology course when the purpose of the overall program is to bring out society's traditional values. In particular, sociology is essentially amoral as it leads to the tradition that is utter relativistic; there are no absolutes. . . . Biology might be considered as an alternative to sociology because it encourages a search for natural order in the universe. . . .

It just seems incorrect to me to assume that modern social science disciplines can incarnate traditional values. This is a kind of positivism in morals which can lead, with the best of good intentions, to indoctrination.

The movement for moral education in prisons is fascinating for a historian because its tensions embody in microcosm all of the difficulties which inhere in any attempt to develop a non-relativist ethical basis for a market society like our own. The central tension in all such attempts is between various forms of moral positivism, which seek to derive an absolutist code of ethics from scientific theories of moral behaviour, and those positions which maintain that contextual moral decisions are irreducibly contestable. This latter position, which I obviously subscribe to, is not, I think, relativistic. Its central premise is that the moral legitimacy of those who judge, who educate, who rule can never be taken for granted, but must in the very nature of things, be justified to those who are judged, educated and ruled. This implies that in the dialogue of understanding out of which moral action emerges, there is no position which is exampt from the obligation to justify. In prison education, this means that the teacher must justify himself as a moral actor no less than the prisoner.

AIMS AND NATURE OF EDUCATION: A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Arnold Edinborough

My task this morning is to try to put the whole of Canadian education into perspective and then, having done so, to make some comments about its relevance to the prison and to the public. A modest task, by the side of which putting toothpaste back in a tube would seem simplicity itself.

But we have to start somewhere, and I will start by giving my definition of education. That definition is:

> "THE PROCESS WHEREBY A PERSON IS GIVEN THE NECESSARY TRAINING TO FULFILL HIS POTENTIAL IN THE SOCIETY IN WHICH HE LIVES."

BASIC TECHNIQUE

It follows that I expect the system entrusted with that process to teach basic literacy, basic numeration and basic communication skills. In simpler and older times those three things would have been called 'the three R's.' And, if the three R's were essential when they were so called in the 19th century, they are even more essential in the 20th, since a man who cannot read and write cannot possibly exist in our documented, literate, credit card society.

If, for example, a man cannot read, he cannot drive.

If he cannot do basic arithmetic, he cannot begin to understand the computer age in which he lives. And we expect everybody to sign documents almost daily, whether it is for the receipt of a package, the receipt of money or a complicated multi-million dollar deal.

Society expects every person to be able to read road signs, to read a message on television and be able to check his bank statement.

(As an aside, it is ironic that as we have developed into this world where everyone can sign his own name and be functionally literate, we spend millions of dollars yearly on designing new symbols and logos for the quick identification of our major corporations, packaged goods and storefronts.)

The use of these basic skills can be channelled, exploited, refined and directed so that, according to his own ability and the length of time taken in the training, a person may find fulfilment as a university professor in computer mathematics, a truck driver, a civil servant, or a nurse in a modern hospital.

On balance, we have done pretty well with these basic requirements or technique, as Michael Ignatieff used the term last night, and have produced at least a functionally literate society in this country.

CONTENT

But what of content? When we have trained someone to fulfill his potential from a technological point of view, where does his own personal fulfilment fit into the society in which he lives?

To have a reasonable fit of such a trained person, we must be aware, during his training, of the economic context and whether the skills he is being taught can offer him a job at the end of the training. There must also be a social context which will teach him about his country and about his society so that he has a sense of pride in the total society, not just that part of it in which he functions. There must also be a values context so that a man or woman knows the moral values and ethical standards by which that society should operate and can see that his position in society conforms to those values.

I have had the opportunity to observe the Canadian educational system, both by teaching in it at universities in Ontario and British Columbia and through contact with the products of the system as they came to university. From that experience, I would say we have shirked the economic area for a multiplicity of reasons.

Those reasons would involve the restrictive attitudes of unions, which have ruined the apprenticeship programmes which we sorely miss, certainly in our artisan sector.

But labour unions are not the only people to be exclusive - professional associations of lawyers and doctors have also seen to it that quotas are imposed on training less the market be reduced.

Setting aside self-interest on the part of labour unions and professional societies, though, our own bureaucracies have not been successful in charting and predicting the kind of jobs that might be open. I remember well a course some years ago in welding which was taught at an institution with which I had something to do where the person teaching the course had himself been laid off as the shipyards of Canada began to close. Indeed, the only person who got a job as a welder out of that particular six-month course was the man who ran it. And he, like his students, was unemployed at the end of it.

As for graduate faculties in university, no-one is so isolated from the society in which their highly trained products should fit than they are.

As far as heritage is concerned, and the teaching of Canadian society, we have done a very bad job of it. Very little of our so called social studies face up to the basic history of Canada, which has its roots in linguistic, cultural and religious divisions. Those divisions still being sharp in some cases, we have omitted to outline their sharpness lest parents become annoyed.

It is also, while we have ten provincial authorities for education and a federal authority for education of native peoples, very difficult to have any kind of national plan for carrying on of national traditions. Our present constitutional debate shows that a sense of national purpose is not something which is common to us, and even the pressure of war on two occasions in this century did not produce it either.

As far as the moral values are concerned, we have systematically removed them from our system in most provinces through a mistaken sense of ecumenism and/or humanism. I have often thought that the anti-church feeling common amongst people brought up in strict, puritan households is at the root of this since so many of our teachers at the elementary level are in fact - or were - refugees from the family farm which held such views.

Anti-clericalism has become entrenched so that in place of a set of moral values, we have substituted a kind of professional priesthood of what we call "educationists". There are two or three generations now of researchers who have blurred their own moral deficits with cognitive deficits and breed upon each other by all reading each other's papers and summarising them before doing their own piece of highly specialised, often merely quantitative research.

It is notable that despite the money we have spent on graduate faculties of education from one side of this country to the other, we have not in fifty years produced an original scholar of the quality of an Arnold or Dewey or Piaget.

We have, in fact, despite the dollars we have spent in the realm of educational theory and practice, shown a colonial mentality, by the side of which John Diefenbaker's defence of the Red Ensign seems highly reasonable.

Our reading systems have been brought in holus bolus from the United States, as has our new mathematics. Even our concept of three-level public schools, public, junior high and senior, has been brought in from the States, as has our concept of undergraduate study at universities.
Compared with the principle that a first degree should train a man's mind for anything, we have asserted that undergraduate study is merely the first hurdle in an extended educational curriculum which ends with a narrowly conceived Ph.D., useful only to train other Ph.D's in the same, but even narrower field.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

While all our professionals were thus engaged in finding out more and more about less and less, non-professional, non-academic educators were taking over the field of learning with radio and television. For let it be admitted freely that the single biggest influence on the conduct of our society nowadays is not the school system, nor the universities, but television.

Before condemning television and, earlier, radio, reflect on some of the things that, particularly television, has done in the past decade.

First, it has brought wonderment back to men's minds. Programmes like CBC's The Nature of Things; the National Geographic documentaries, and programmes like those by Jacques Cousteau, to mention but three, have shown the might and majesty of the universe to a populace who went through school without seeing it.

Second, whether through the parliamentary debates, news specials, or more specific documentary programmes than the ones mentioned, television has brought information to our society in an immediately assimilable form.

On the other hand, by its blatant use of misleading advertising, television has also eroded authority. How can we believe that a game is played for the result if, at a particularly hectic point in that game, a time-out is called to advertise mouth-wash, under-arm deodorant, or beer. And how can young people ever believe adults again when they see the kind of testimonial ads for breakfast cereals, toothpaste and other such.

Even more difficult is the way in which television, through its endless police series, has inured us to violence, cruelty, crime and horror, all, by the way, included in the legal definition of obscenity in the revised Criminal Code of Canada.

(Again, by way of parenthesis, while we have had the whole gambit of sex and deviant sex relationships on television, local school boards are still worried about Margaret Laurence's novel, The Diviners.)

So, you might ask, where is all this getting us?

Ladies and gentlemen, to the very nub, I believe, of this conference: the technique and substance of what should be taught in prisons.

For it is clear from what I have said that faculties of education are not places from which I expect the Pierian spring to flow clear and full. Yet, I am fascinated by the material sent to me ahead of this conference. I am impressed by Professor Ayers's efforts and his research. I am particularly impressed by the apparent results in the short term.

I am perturbed, though, about the elevation of moral argument as a technique into being itself a moral system. I am also perturbed by the fact that the teaching is done, not within the system, but as a kind of reward outside the system. Inasmuch as there is a special area at Matsqui in which this teaching goes on, there is, to use Michael Ignatieff's terms from last night, technology and architecture at work there too.

Yet I would wish us to have far fewer people in our jails. I would wish, as everyone else would, to have far fewer people preying on society and living off the avails of crime. But anything that achieves a dent in our present system of corrections and reduces the number of recidivists, I am in favour of one hundred percent.

As an old John Howard man, let me share a few thoughts about that present system.

First, as the literature sent out for this conference says, our present correctional system has no goal. But that is surely inescapable. If there is no commonality of crime, no such thing as the profile of the "average" criminal, how can one building, under one system, have a common goal?

I suggest, therefore, that any prison system that would work should differentiate between various offences and, therefore, varying offenders, and have a variety, indeed, multiplicity of goals.

Second, this brings me to models. I do not think because Ayers has a new one, the others are either superseded or ipso facto wrong. Different strokes for different folks.

We have never differentiated enough between offenders and we have never taken the time to work out a system which would be a mixture of models, a mixture of treatments and a variety of housing units.

All too often we have built buildings just because there is need for a little pork barrelling in the area in which they are built. And, though it is a little way away from the pork barrel, the present decision to build a new penitentiary at Renous because the area needs jobs shows that it is not the prisoners who are being thought of for the prison, but the guards who are going to work in it. When politics continues to dictate penology, the going gets rough for us all.

Now, in the best of all possible worlds, the differentiation I have mentioned would give Ayers his place, not in one corner of an institution, but in an institution itself - an education and training centre.

We have had maximum security and minimum security prisons; we have had correctional centres and training schools. Why should we now not have a pilot education and training centre established in at least three provinces and see how we get on.

Because I think Ayers's model, though it won't encompass everybody, has certainly a lot to commend it.

I speak from personal experience when I say the mind can be broadened by being in contact with the great minds of other cultures and other ages. Queen's University is another institution in Kingston where that kind of thing has been going on for a long time. And I remember, almost twenty years ago, giving a talk to the prize-winners of the University of Ottawa about what I perceived to be the value of the kind of broadening education which Ayers has introduced into Matsqui. With your permission, I quote:

"For the student who wants to know about the ritual of human motive can read Hamlet and will dimly perceive, without any help, what the human mind under stress can become capable of. But if he wants to understand Hamlet fully - and so understand more about human nature than a whole stable of Freudian psychologists could tell him without his having read Hamlet - he will want to know what the Elizabetheans thought about ghosts, about hell, and about purgatory. He will want to know what the laws were which governed the succession to a medieval throne. He will need to know about the legal rights of a woman at that period, and the canon law about suicide.

"He will wonder and ask why, in Denmark, there is a Cockney grave-digger who goes off to London to a pub for a quart of English Ale. He will wonder what makes Ophelia sing when she goes mad, and will be led to an even more fascinating line of thought when he is told that all female parts in Shakespeare's plays were originally acted by choir-boys possessed of an unbroken voice and unparalled precociousness.

"All the time these questions are forming, and when the answers are being found out, the inquirer also realises he is making discoveries about his own age as well as Shakespeare's. What, for example, would we do with such an involved piece of statecraft and murder as Hamlet's uncle perpetrated? Would we let him get away with it? And, if we think not, why do we do business diplomatically with Communist leaders whose regimes are, in some cases, even more brutally based than that of Claudius? When Fortinbras goes to war, do we admire him? If we do, do we thus commit ourselves to side with the Pentagon on the matter of nuclear testing? And if not, why not?

"As we further ruminate on the play we suddenly may note that all those wise tags which are so often quoted to youth - Give every man they ear, but few thy voice: Neither a borrower nor a lender be: This above all: to thine own self be true. And it must follow, as the night the day. Thou canst not then be false to any man - are all spoken by a pompous, prurient, unprincipled, old rogue who spies on his son, ill-treats his daughter, toadies to a tyrant and gets killed for hiding behind the curtains in a queen's bedroom to see what goes on. Is this the kind of man who gives advice always? Is he the model perhaps for convocation and commencement speakers? And is it enough for a parent (or guardian or professor) to merely affirm, as Polonius almost does: 'Do as I say, not as I do'."

CONCLUSION

To return to the central theme of this conference, after such a lengthy digression, let me say that I believe that if we are to have education in prisons, we must:

(a) have different prisons;

(b) better differentiate prisoners;

(c) have a core of master teachers in the prison service,

and (d) have local teachers who can pave the way back into the community for those who have been temporarily removed from it.

To achieve this, the biggest problem is the education of the public because the public, after all, elects the politicians and most politicians have a pretty good ear to the ground in such highly sensitive areas as the treatment and confinement of crime.

If we are ever to see the broad application of Ayers's theories, we shall need to mount a campaign with all the voluntary agencies, and see that sociology departments in universities are also acquainted with it. We shall have to fight the fortress mentality which seems prelevant in at least the correctional system in Ottawa at the moment, and we shall have to fight the single model syndrome, which is merely another off-shoot of the fortress system.

If we do this, we should put the treatment, cure or moral revivification of anti-social beings squarely where it belongs: not on the prisons; not on the politicians, but on the public.

That, perhaps, is where education must start. If we educate the public, we will then be able, unobstructed, to educate in the prisons and if Ayers's model is anything to go by, we shall all be the beneficiaries of a new, intelligent and humane approach to the reform of anti-social beings.

We might, indeed, by changing people in prison back to being socially aware human beings with a valid role to play when they return to society, be a shining example to other education authorities about the role and purpose of education generally.

And that, in both cases, would be a first.

ADDRESS AT THE BANQUET

Céline Hervieux-Payette

First, I would like to congratulate the University of Victoria and the Canadian Association for Adult Education for their initiative and their work in organizing this conference. I feel this conference is rather special, in that it represents a deep personal commitment on the part of everyone here to the destinies of those unfortunate individuals who, for one reason or another, find themselves in prison. I myself have travelled five thousand miles today to be with you. It is my personal view that the size of this country should never be an obstacle to dialogue and working together.

One thing we have learned in recent years is that the community-at-large must be involved in the work of penitentiaries. Accordingly, prisons are no longer the isolated places they used to be . Today, for example, most prisons benefit from the work of Citizens' Advisory Committees. I am very glad that, in the last few years, educators - academics, teachers, educational associations, notably the Canadian Association for Adult Education - have begun to take a lively and professional interest in what is going on in prisons. Such interest is of immense value to those who are responsible for the work of penitentiaries, and, of even greater importance, to the inmates themselves, who stand to lose or gain from the nature and quality of our educational programs inside the prison walls.

I would like to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the initiatives taken by the Correctional Service of Canada in this field of prison education. For those of you who may not be familiar with the educational programs of the Correctional Service, I should perhaps explain that the Service operates twenty-three penitentiary schools in institutions of medium and maximum security. Each school has a department of academic education and a department of vocational education. The academic department provides educational services ranging from literacy training to university degree programs; and the vocational department provides training in various generic skills and in a number of trades.

Each penitentiary school is supervised by an Assistant Warden, who is the school principal. Teaching is carried out by staff teachers and also by teachers from municipal boards of education, colleges and universities under contractual arrangements. In each of the four larger regions there is also a regional education officer who is the regional superintendent of schools.

At the national level, in Ottawa, there is a Director of Education and a small staff.

Normally, at any given time, around 20% of the inmate population is enrolled in organized programs of academic and vocational education. Not all inmates of course are enrolled in such programs. The policy of the Service is to provide appropriate educational opportunities to those inmates who are able and willing to benefit from them. If there are any who think this is mollycoddling, let them remember that learning is hard work, harder in fact than most jobs in ordinary life.

I am glad that the Correctional Service of Canada has been able to cooperate in this conference. Our Service, like other correctional administrations, has recognized the very important role prison education has to play in the lives of many inmates. As this is a national conference, let me say also that I think we are fortunate in Canada to have been able to provide some leadership in this relatively new field.

It is a central aim of most correctional systems to help prepare inmates to assume their responsibilities as citizens. The question must therefore be asked what this means in a free society.

Freedom is not easy. It means that people have to make choices all the time in their daily lives. Freedom is a burden as well as a joy. There are some who, reacting against the complexity of our times, would be prepared to submit to some kinds of authority - intellectual, political, moral, and so on - in order to escape the burden of freedom. This represents a reaction against the humanism, the rationalism and the science which are the distinguishing characteristics of the modern world. The point is that to be free, to be able to exercise freedom, to be a good citizen, it is necessary for a person to be able to use his mind. This is one of the principal concerns of education. The first task of education is to enhance the ability to handle freedom, with all the responsibility that freedom involves.

To most contemporary criminologists and penal administrators, education is a relatively unimportant and rather marginal function of a prison. This is mainly because of assumptions that are made concerning the nature of crime, the nature of education, and the purposes of penitentiaries.

In their evaluation of correctional education programs in the USA, carried out with the support of the US National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, just a few years ago, Raymond Bell and his associates found that the most crucial obstacles to achieving a successful educational program are administrative shortsightedness, indifference, and neglect. I dare hope that this will no longer be so in Canada, because education, conceived of in its distinctively human dimensions, is at the heart of the prison's function and is virtually its only hope of ever being something more than a secure and efficient warehouse for society's legal outcasts.

Almost a decade ago, Robert Martinson sought to answer the question "What works?" and ended up by reporting that he could not find sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that anything works, that any of the ways that have been tried are effective in "reducing recidivism through rehabilitation." That finding was quickly accepted by the criminal justice systems of several countries, including Canada. As a result, the very idea of reformation or rehabilitation was largely abandoned in favour of a passive type of "opportunities" model and a rethinking of the role of the prison in terms of the protection of society. Even Martinson did not go so far as to reject unqualifiedly the notion of rehabilitation. He admitted the possibility that the programs offered in prisons may not yet be good enough. That hypothesis has never been fully examined.

In March, 1980, a post-release study was completed of an educational program which had been conducted in two Canadian prisons since 1972, right here in British Columbia. The astonishing result, that the risk of recidicism for persons who participated in that program for at least a year was only one-quarter the risk for those who participated in other programs, is an inescapable challenge to those who have lost confidence in the very idea of rehabilitation. What conclusion can be drawn from that post-release study? Is it possible that some kinds of education are somehow more effective influences towards reformation than the techniques of the behavioral scientists or industrial-type programs based mainly on the tenets of the nineteenth century work ethic? The educational program which proved so successful was a program of studies in the humanities at the university level, with special emphasis on history and literature.

In the June 5th issue of Time Magazine, in an article entitled "The Prison Nightmare," Time stated that "Most penal officials have virtually abandoned rehabilitation as a practical possibility in prisons." Unfortunately, this is true. The result has been that in abandoning hope we have also surrendered responsibility.

But we cannot escape responsibility. Certainly, the inmate is partly responsible for his own choices, as we all are. But man is not free absolutely. He is also subject to many influences and circumstances. He is not, as William Ernest Henley suggested, completely "master of his fate and captain of his soul." The inmate is partly responsible for his choices. But we too are partly responsible. We can act as influences - sometimes of course more effectively than others - and for better or for worse, I should add. Why should we? I suggest the answer is very simple and well-known. Out of fraternal obligation! We are our brother's keeper.

And it is not just a matter of rehabilitation. There is another purpose to be served as well. One of the roles of a penitentiary is to hold in custody people who are sentenced to prison by a court. But that is only one of its roles. Of even greater importance is its role of ensuring that inmates retain their normal rights as citizens, except those that must be denied as an unavoidable consequence of incarceration.

As Dr. Peter Scharf argued at the Symposium on Prison Education held during the World Congress in Education at the Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières last July, the normal rights of a citizen include the right of access to an education of good quality. From this perspective, educational opportunity in prison is not based only on society's desire to reform the criminal, but also on a social commitment to the principle of educational fairness in a just society.

Therefore, to those who say that education is a marginal function of a prison, some kind of secondary priority, I would reply that that is simply to fail to recognize the essential purpose of a penitentiary. Someone remarked to me the other day that we are not in the educational business; we are in the prison business. Well, in my opinion, the prison business is educational business.

As T.M. Osborne said some years ago,

> "Not until we think of our prisons as in reality educational institutions shall we come within sight of a successful system; and by a successful system I mean one that not only ensures a quiet, orderly, well-behaved prison but has genuine life in it as well; one that restores to society the largest number of intelligent, forceful, honest citizens."

In closing, I would like to congratulate you once again on your interest in the subject of prison education, which is so important.

I am very pleased to have been invited to speak to you this evening. I hope that the conference is a great success, and that there will be other such conferences in the future. Our Government needs your support, your experience and cooperation in providing the proper programs for prison inmates.

Thank you.

PART II

DEVELOPING AN EDUCATIONAL MODEL

THE ADULT PRISONER AS A STUDENT

Roby Kidd

I remember vividly one course on mental health in a New York university where the Professor would always begin by addressing us as "fellow neurotics". Perhaps, my greeting should be borrowed from a character in Camus' novel: "Judge, accused, witnesses, we are all in the same boat, brothers all."

It is good to be back in British Columbia, the province in which I grew up and had most of my education, including three years in the nonformal educational institution that taught me more than any other, the *road gang* at Gibsons Landing.

I have already been warned that people in B.C. are in no mood to listen to homilies from soft, bleeding heart, mollycoddling, social welfare types, particularly those whose postal address is east of the Rockies. Even when I was growing up, there was a gulf between the formal rectitude espoused, and the real behaviour of people in this, my province, and prominent among the school-favoured heroes was one, Matthew Begbie, a "hanging judge". And while I have determined not to say anything about the behaviour of judges in this province, I do remember that it was said of King George I that "he kept his wife in prison because he believed that she was no better than he was".

Still, I have been warned to huddle close to reality when I speak about the *Prisoner* as student, *and learner*, noting that there is a considerable difference between the student and the learner in all of us.

Let me begin with a short, recorded extract from Max Williams, a tough, bloody-minded convict who spent most of his first forty years in Australian detention homes, jails, and penitentiaries. This realistic story is well told in his autobiography, *Dingo, My Life on the Run*. When he came out at age 40, he chose the unlikely career of poet, having learned how to write in prison, and has been able to maintain himself successful on writing and teaching since 1973.

RECORDING: 1 minute, 30 seconds.

And now let me try to open up directly and unsentimentally the real and complex life we are here to consider.

There is first, the real existence and being of the prisoner, usually a he, sometimes a she, and what they were like when they were caught up in the prison experience, and how they have changed.

There is the prisoner, with certain characteristics and attributes as described by the law.

There is the perception of that prisoner by the various authorities, police, judges, court and prison officials, and how that perception is translated into behaviour. Like Eliza in Shaw's play, Pygmalion, people are in considerable measure how they are perceived to be, and also, how others treat them.

There is the prisoner, as seen by, and subject to, attitudes, and behaviours, that arise from the perception by people in society, perceptions moulded, for some, by actual contact with prisoners, and for most, developed through the press and broadcasting. Unless the messages have improved considerably in verocity and depth since I lived here, and read newspapers, and listened to radio everyday, the impact of the media on the understanding of citizens would be lamentable. Often, this writing, or these images, are derived from American films, or American so-called research, and it is hard to decide which is the least true of Canadian conditions, or most harmful in finding solutions to a complex problem.

And so, we have the prisoner, not an elephant subject to the judgement of six blind men, as in the fable, but a creation of at least six times six hands, faces, words, and deeds. S/he isn't an easy being to describe, analyze, or understand. Saturday Night has just published a short review, with Tom Rathwell, the supervising-keeper at Kingston Penitentiary, a man who rarely uses bad language, but who is quoted as saying: "They told me when I started here thirty-four years ago to treat all prisoners alike. It is BS then, and it's BS now."

It was almost exactly thirty-four years ago that I made my first visit to the already venerable B.C. Penitentiary. I had been trying to keep in touch with early attempts at reforming prison education, with a modified Borstal system, and other social innovations then coming from a remarkable trio - George Weir as Deputy Minister, and Harry Cassidy, and George Davidson, as social reformers. In that decade, B.C. and Saskatchewan were the provinces of social innovation: does anything new and different happen here now? I went into the penitentiary to see Donald Belt, sentenced there for twenty years by a judge who did not understand such matters, for something that should probably have been treated in a hospital. We had made Belt a member of the CAAE, and he was writing book reviews for us, and thus, keeping his link with the outside, and some of his sanity, preparing himself to become what he did become, one of the finest teachers I have ever known. He was compelled to do most of his reading at night, in his cell, of course, usually after the 9:00 signal had blacked out the lights. He would lie prostrate on the floor for several hours peering at the small print, aided somewhat by the weak corridor lights that dimly penetrated under the bottom of his cell door. This is how he was able to move from Grade Ten to University entrance, and also, to impair permanently his eyesight. He was able to receive letters or books by post only twice a month. While he was often ridiculed and thwarted by other prisoners, guards, and regulations, he was moved to Kingston when he had matriculated so that he, as had a few others, might carry on university work at Queens University. In five more years, he had earned his B.A., and he had even devised a personality test as a student which, in the opinion of several psychologists, would have been successful in the market if there had been any way to test it for reliability and validity. Now, he became a volunteer prison librarian, and counsellor, to every inmate that valued further learning, and by chance, he became a teacher. Two inmates, almost blind, were incarcerated at Kingston, both had had little education, and he was asked to teach them. In those circumstances, what would have been your reply? I think I would at least have made the point that the authorities ought not to have brought blind men into that Penitentiary. But not Donald Belt. First, he learned braille, became their teacher and mentor, and helped prepare them for exams, and for a vocation outside the walls. Soon, he had almost a full-time role as advisor and braille-printer to blind organizations, such as the Ontario Golfers, the Baptist Church, and several veterans and occupational therapy organizations. When, at last, he was permitted to come out, he had a full-time position in the Talking Books project of the CNIB, and, with his acquired skill in braille, he quickly learned Fortran, and became the first computer programmer at the University of Toronto, and was soon teaching his skill to others. And then he died, just when his unusual skills as a teacher-guide, and confidante to handicapped people were being studied and passed on to others. Every day of his confinement, he wished himself out, but he also acknowledged that some of his better traits and skills were nurtured during those long, agonizing nights.

I look forward to the day when there will be a Donald Belt Award, or recognition for remarkable learning and extraordinary teaching.

But, not all inmates are Donald Belt's - if they were, the problems would be relatively simple, and we would not be here today working on questions that are asked worldwide, are subtle, and difficult. In New Zealand, I once saw on the desk of the Chief Superintendent, three, not two, of the office desk baskets; the first, well stacked, labelled IN, the second, with only a paper or two, labelled OUT, the third, piled high to overflowing, marked in Red Capitals, TOO HARD! Some fine educationists in other countries have struck out, or simply given up on the problems we face, and have concluded that they are not really soluble. But you have not, you are here to consult together about them, and you are to be congratulated.

If Canadian prisoners are not all like Donald Blet, who spent nineteen full years as one, what are they like?

I have already indicated that there are many kinds of answers to this question, and it is necessary to ponder, sort out, and sum up what can be gleaned from these different kinds of data sources.

To start with, there are many kinds of opinions, often conflicting---and paradoxically, there isn't much evidence. As I review some of these sources of information about the prisoner, I will note implications for a program involving educationists engaged by the prison administrators, and educationists from without. I believe both are needed and useful for different purposes and reasons, and while I will not advise on the proportion of each, which is a matter of further discussion, I am convinced that there must be cooperation over the whole field of prison education. I, therefore, welcome the fact that, in this conference, there are both people whose experience is primarily within and without the system.

As I was saying, there isn't enough hard, statistical evidence. Many of you have tried to get more without success. If the data we need does exist in one central place, it has not been distributed. We don't have enough demographic information, or data about social class, or ethnic background, or artistic interests, or cultural experience, or job performance. Except for a few able students, mostly in university classes, we don't know much about their academic performance on standardized tests. Yet, much of this data does exist somewhere. Some of it could be made available without prejudice to the individual, or violating his/her rights. And if educationists are to share in the responsibility for the education of prisoners, there will need to be devised measures of sharing information about these learners. Improvement in this respect could be one of the useful byproducts of greater cooperation in prison education.

However, lacking some of these data, some people have made notable efforts to understand the prisoner/learner. Almost the most interesting part of Tony Parlett's useful accounts of gaining some understanding of prisoners is how he met them, taught them, tested them, and was tested by them. At the anecdotal level, we know something, but how many inmates do these stories really comprehend. In the writings of Caron, and other prisoners, or ex-prisoners, we glean some other facts, but naturally, the writing is very personal. It is almost always about what these facts mean to an insider, and seen through his charcoal-gray tinted glasses.

Reports? The best reports for understanding the prisoner have been generated within the prison establishment, such as Douglas Griffin's report to the OISE study team. Useful, as well, are some observations of special programs, such as the University Program in British Columbia. Here, some careful attention has been given to the kinds of questions that are most meaningful, and the response is systematic. However, some of the reports most pertinent to education have been restricted in circulation. Many other reports sound a bit like Traveller's Tales, of some outsider that has visited briefly a strange culture and returned to describe the bizarre scenes he had observed. Again, careful reports based on the most important questions, repeated over time, with changes in the prison population noted and followed up: such reports could be the basis for more consistent action.

Research? There is some, but not enough, nor well distributed. Much that has been given circulation comes from the United States, carried out often under very different circumstances, and based on quite different populations, but accepted as sound currency. Some Canadians still have the bizarre notion that if they have done no research themselves, and someone else has, even if the questions were different, they ought to show how professional they are by using it uncritically. Nothing could be less scientific, scholarly, or professional than that practice. We can be aware of work in other places and countries, and still be clear-minded about the questions that we must answer in Canada.

I would not suggest, of course, that no research from the United States should ever be used, or never be the initial hypothesis for further studies in Canada. We ought also to welcome, and investigate critically, studies from England and Australia, and from western Europe generally, if they have anything for us. Comparative research about prison education is an important beginning for us to weigh our own strengths and shortcomings. It may be useful, from time to time, even to note experiences in countries like India or China, where the organized forms are so alien that we could not adapt many methods or techniques. The value here might be to study an entire system, such as the Chinese where, except for political prisoners, the entire operation is seen as one where punishment is not a factor, and where the problem is one of custody, plus helping individuals learn how to think differently about their life.

Some research is beginning to appear by people like Dr. Ayers, and associates in Victoria, by Morin, and others in Quebec, and in departments of law and criminology, as well as education. Most of this has been commissioned by Penitentiary officials, and some is being done within the prison itself.

In volume, Ayers seems to have produced the most, and all of it is of good calibre. Some of his work has been a generalized assessment of the performance of prison school programs, and these observations are useful because of his extensive and informed experience. But, the sample studied is small. The judgement by Ayers, Duguid and Montague on the effects of the University of Victoria program provides some pertinent information about the prisoners that took part in that program. Campbell and Davis have looked at impulsivity and related cognitive styles based on studies of inmates at Collins Bay, and in the Women's Prison. Using psychometric tests, judges' ratings of videotaped students, trained observers' ratings of the same materials, and teachers' ratings, they have presented a picture of inmates as people who typically respond as impulsive, which is equated somewhat with immaturity, and thus, reinforces a view or prejudice that is shared by many in the prison system that immaturity is indeed an inmate characteristic. The research is ingenious and careful, but the results need to be weighed with care: observers typically perceive what they expect to perceive. Waksman, Silverman, and Weber, have assessed the learning potential of some penitentiary inmates, using Feuerstein's potential assessment device, again a trailblazing example of research that may lead to improved performance, or at least to the initiation of pilot educational projects.

But these studies, and a few more, do not represent a very large product. A similar situation seems to exist in other countries. There is little research, and not much published records concerning education in French prisons, or German, or Dutch, or Nordic countries, although some are beginning to emerge. About Britain, Christopher Dunn reported:

> Little indeed has been written about prisoner attitudes towards education and training. Academic researchers find it a formidable task to get Home Office permission to survey inmates. The researcher visiting a prison can be gently directed against involved discussions with inmates. In some cases, this arises out of a concern with inmate feelings.....

It's much safer to let researchers examine buildings, or meals, even account books, than study inmates directly.

I don't blame prison authorities for keeping out, or discouraging some of the Candians who carry on research in the social sciences, and are about as empathetic, tactful, and understanding of the real problems and issues as some visiting, amiable, African elephant. The record shows also that some outside teachers have not done well with prisoners. Discrimination will be needed in accepting the good and responsible researchers, allowing them to seek data that will not subject the prisoner to even more humiliation and nakedness of mind and spirit.

Because they are comparatively, infrequently seen, some tables from Griffin's Report to the OISE team, consisting of questionnaire answers from teachers, and inmates, about the inmates, will be appended. Naturally, one must treat such answers to questionnaires with some care, but they are a starting point.

These studies, fragmented though they are, do point to some directions.

.Inmates are typically impulsive, not reflective in their cognitive style.

.On the average, the inmates are educable in terms of ability and aptitude, with many whose abilities are not fully tested or used.

.They are gleaners and hoarders of facts, but not so used to, or successful in application.

.Their real performance or capabilities are typically lower than their reported capabilities.

.They are low on most measures of ethics or moral judgements.

While welcoming such hypotheses, great care should be exercised before using them as descriptions of all or most prisoners, or on adopting them as truths for prison education, but they are certainly better than some established myths, such as that every inmate will soon be back in prison, and that he will always attempt, with masterly skill, to con you.

Much of the most appropriate research about learning occurs outside of penitentiaries, and equally, outside of university faculties of education, or departments of psychology. Important concepts, ideas, and methods affecting learning have come from all of the social sciences, in such natural sciences as biology and nutrition, and from such theatres of change as overcoming a language barrier, employing the media of communication, or in brain research. Accordingly, research about the prisoner as learner should, of course, be carried out in prisons, but often, as well, out of prisons.

I have not been able to discover any substantial research that establishes fundamental differences between the prisoner in provincial or in federal custody, except average age, but we continue to treat them as if they were almost a different species. If we are concerned with realistic and successful programs of education, we will have to overcome these differences of jurisdiction, and deal with all prisoners as students and learners, not wards of one kind of government or another.

THE STUDENT AND LEARNER

As one looks for facts about the prisoner as a student, he quickly realizes that a relatively few prisoners are "formal" students at any one time, that is, enrolled in a class or training course, and the number seems to be dropping. But, there are educative forces operating on all, or almost all, prisoners, and almost all the time, and activities and influences in the library, and sports, and work, and handcrafts, and social organization, need to be considered. The business of the school and the class is important, of course, and deserves our careful attention, but it represents only a fraction of the learning and teaching opportunities. For some of the prisoners, teaching is a part-time thing, but learning goes on all of the time.

We also know that there seems to be a range of intelligence within the prison population that is comparable to Canada's norms, or despite the fact that many inmates have been, or are considered "losers", their situation might be somewhat better than ever. But, this observation is still somewhat suspect until it has been checked and verified with much greater precision, and with a much larger and better constructed sample.

The most obvious and striking thing about prisoners is that they are so young! Of course, everyone looks young to me now, freshmen at college, policemen, and even some judges, the crowd at some cultural ritual like a football game, or rock concern. But, prisoners really are young - what statistics we have bear that out respecting both reformatories and penitentiaries. Now and again, when one is in a special location, with long-term prisoners - murderers for instance - the age distribution seems more "normal".

On age, we could and should have very complete figures. But we should be careful of the assumptions that we make of this knowledge. It is still a surprising result to most observers that often when there seems to be a fundamental turnaround change in a prisoner, which one hopes and expects will be maintained, typically that change has occurred in the mid or late thirties. Possibly, that is a result of having few studies of changes in younger prisoners, or it may be a result of the older prisoners becoming wiser, smarter, wilier, or too lacking in energy to carry on a hectic and losing battle of wits. But it may also have something to do with the age, thirties, as a good period for moral and cognitive change. In one of my own classes, an educational supervisor in the provincial government said: "I have always worked very hard with and for the prisoners of 16-25. I gave them all my attention, but literally, did nothing for the men over thirty, believing that the latter were hopeless and committed to a life of crime. Now, I am beginning to find that I was wrong about the older men, and at least, they deserve another chance at education."

When we consider age as a factor, we should also think about the long-term prisoners, often serving sentences for murder, and even if young in years, seeming to have the weariness of age. This is a fascinating and perplexing sub-group, or special classification of prisoners, and one that is likely to endure because there will be some form of custody for them, even if "petty criminals" were permitted to work out their sentences outside of prison. At the present time, many of them are simply contained or stored, and are otherwise ignored by prison officials. It is known that while a few are dangerous, most are not, and will probably never again commit a crime that would bring them before the law. They are not understood well, partially because in previous times, many of them were simply eliminated. It may even be true that there is experience and creative power in the group of long-term prisoners that would provide power for a brain trust, or a research and development center, but no such sustained experiment seems to have been tried, or even tested by research.

This is one subject on which we will probably have experience and opinions to share and exchange.

For many, though not all, the use of a chemical, usually alcohol or drugs, has had a direct contributing effect upon the action that resulted in arrest, and typically, the person had a history of questionable use of such chemicals.

It seems to be established that relatively few, at least of the younger inmates, have had a regular period of employment, or have learned the social skills, and accepted the constraints that go with holding a regular job. Some of them, of course, appear to be striking out in individual ways to avoid what they consider undesirable attributes associated with job-holding. Many, but we don't know precisely how many, have had considerable experience with industrial schools and correctional programs.

Many inmates appear to have been sensitive to, and to have reacted negatively to stress and tension in their family and community, and in society in general. This judgement is typically made about them, coupled sometimes with the observation that if there were a war, or there existed a new geographic frontier to open up, some of these inmates would have excellent opportunities to express themselves. This observation is typical of the assumptions which cannot be proved, but which are held and exchanged so freely about prisoners.

There is such a clash in judgement about whether the inmate has low or high self-concept (most people say extremely low, but others differ), that this observation needs some critical study. That, and Henry Van Dyke's aphorism, "the self is the only prison that can bind the soul". However, it is true that many people in general with low educational attainments do have a low self-image.

We have been told that a large number of prisoners, perhaps as many as forty percent, overall, and even higher if we count jails and provincial institutions, are about the level of adult basic education, meaning that they have not progressed as far as they will need to operate effectively in Canadian employment and Canadian society. Few are strictly illiterate: but, very few have competencies in reading, writing, basic math, general knowledge, or have developed skills of study that make them good candiates for stable existence outside.

It is with people lacking educational success that much is theoretically possible, and there are now a considerable number of Canadians who are competent in this area of education. It is remarkable, therefore, that the federal service, at least, does not seem to have enlisted a single person who is very well trained in this area, and it is certainly a significant problem to which educational organizations can contribute.

It is also known that there is a substantial number of Indian people, again perhaps as many as forty percent, in some institutions depending on what jurisdiction we are analyzing. Success with Indian people requires a series of efforts to be made simultaneously. Among these is the necessity for counselling and basic teaching to be done by those that they trust. When we visited one penitentiary in 1978, we found that the only effective counselling and teaching was by another inmate, an Indian, who would soon be leaving, and with no provision to replace him. An attitude towards inmates that is often displayed by the administration, and the rule that no inmate will be subject to another, has inhibited the widespread employment of counselling and teaching talents which are found in the inmate population. This is a subject over which the educational forces might have some influence and impact, provided that they engage with the problem long and deeply enough to be heard and to deserve hearing.

It is also known how many prisoners have French as their first language. Not all of these can be looked after, or should be incarcerated in Quebec. However, not many activities in the French language are widely available outside of Quebec. I have been told, but it is not an acceptable answer, that: "Inmates are all glad to be in the class because they want to brush up on their English." That may be a partial answer, but the problem is both more difficult, and has other solutions.

Do Canadian prisoners display the criminal personality as probed and described by Yochelson and Samenow? I expect by now that you are familiar with the explanation of these men about why criminals behave as criminals, and that the only possible way to deal with such people is through a long process of cognitive restructuring - a very lengthy process. I am always ready to welcome someone who proposes education as a strategy not suitable for most sentences. I continue to harbour serious doubts about the number of prisoners that can be so described and the necessity and efficacy of the solution. I have yet to know someone who fits the Samenow formula, and, while there may be some in the Canadian prisons, I wonder how many, and what will be the way of attracting them to reeducation of the Samenow kind. This may also be a question you will wish to discuss.

It is possible, of course, that all men and women in prisons who are capable of it, should be given the kinds of university programs that have been provided with such success by the University of Victoria. Contrary to what one usually reads in the press, or from writers who moan publically about the lack of success of prison programs, the record, despite all difficulties, is quite extraordinary. In many situations, the Donald Belt's and John Prince's have overcome extraordinary handicaps. It is probable that, in addition to the careful scrutiny of well-seasoned criminals, more effort should be given to helping all prisoners who can profit from them to secure activities of higher education. Needed at once will be a few teacher-organizers with experience who know how to obtain an educative result from distance learning, along with those capable of monitoring and manipulating signals from mass media, satellites, and computers. This is another excellent role for cooperation from educational institutions.

It does not seem to surprise people anymore to learn that prisoners may also be consummate painters, sculptors, musicians, songwriters, actors, or media producers. Talent is well scattered, among prisoners as well as generally, and sometimes, the arts make it possible for a prisoner to survive and to excel. This subject has many aspects. First, no better vehicle seems to exist than the arts for having the general public obtain some more realistic and humane view of the prisoner. Second, for many prisoners, the arts are a much better "drug", or emotional outlet, than alcohol or valium. Moreover, many a career has started as a hobby, as the progress of Max Williams illustrates so well. The trend to more and better opportunities for artistic expression, linked with opportunities for further education and training, is one of the areas where educationists and the prison establishment could cooperate effectively.

Such, then, are some of the findings or knowledge that is shared about the prisoner as learner and as student. However, we need also to know much more about what the law says about the prisoner, what the guards, teachers, coaches, and administrators inside the prison culture think and practice about the prisoner, what the information services communicate, and what the public knows about, and thinks about, the prisoner.

Curiously enough, I have never seen assembled in one place what the law says about the prisoner. Such an assemblage of basic material might be useful for all of us, confusing or not, and would throw up some of the actions we need to take, perhaps, some of the powers not being well used, as well as some of the questions needing research.

Why should we be concerned about the general public? Because it is in the community that the prisoner is arrested; it is the arena for his, or society's failings. Here, if we were wiser, would be invested much of our energy. Recently, we have been told that while there are millions for Cancer Research, much more money than can be used well, and quickly, there is very little money for cancer prevention, or any other form of prevention of social ills. The best way to have half-empty jails in the 1990's would be to so alter conditions so that fewer people would need to be arrested.

Shakespeare was only one writer of many who discerned the relationship between the prisoner and the rest of us. In Measure For Measure, he says:

> The jury, passing on the prisoner's life
> May in the sworn twelve have a thief or two
> Guiltier than him they try.

Because the members of the family and community of the inmate can have such a constructive or destructive part in his further education and growth.

Because, in the long run, the support for intelligent action within the penitentiary will come from an educated and better understanding public.

At present, one is not very optimistic about the direction of such analysis because there seems to be so much confusion in the mind, and attitudes, and behaviours of the public about prison life and education, and it seems so difficult to bring about constructive change. Prison officials seem, on the whole, to be ahead of public attitudes. Still, as confused as the citizen may be, and as bad as has been some of the reporting by press, in films, and television, there is a different level of public understanding about prisons even when I was growing up, and much more may be possible if we get at it. Obviously, this is part of the total equation that is of direct concern to educationists.

There are, of course, the members of the prison establishment, often blamed and saddled with the misconception that nothing that they do seems to matter. To me, and based on my experience, this is largely an inaccurate and damaging conclusion. It may be even that the institutions and their staffs are successful, and it is outside that all the failures are occurring, both before and after penal custody. But conventional wisdom is that the penal institutions have failed, and that view has often caused discouragement and lowered morale.

When the OISE team visited most of the penitentiaries of Canada, we were generally impressed with the ability commitment, attitudes, performance, and relative optimism of the people we met. There are exceptions, of course. But, on the whole, these persons deserve well of us, probably deserve better of us. It is interesting to note what official, or outside support can do for a system. Three years ago, when I tried to study the French penal system under the dull, representative, official policy of the old government, prison educational personnel in France did not even want to talk: they were ashamed, sullen, and uncooperative. Now, with Mitterand's new appointment as Commissioner, and with a public that expects change, even if it does not accept all the directions proposed, there is a new spirit, and performance by this body of officials.

But, while we were impressed with the individual merit of the Canadian prison personnel, we were not reassured about their education, or understanding of education. There is room for intelligent cooperation, with responsible educationists outside, as well as for changes in the selection, training, employment practices, and continuing education of prison personnel who all so affect prison education.

CONCLUSION

And now to conclude. I am sure that you would have liked a complete and accurate profile of the inmate as student. If that were possible, I would have brought one, but it is not, or not yet.

What I have done is try to isolate what facts we have about the larger problem of the inmate as student, those things we may accept with some confidence, and those things that still need checking. This approach has had the result of identifying many of the subjects or areas where genuine cooperation is needed and possible between prison officials and external educationists. I have referred to a substantial number of possibilities, including further research, training of prison officials, and education about education, a special case for the undereducated, and those capable of higher education, a case for Indian people in prison, and for the education of the general public. In all of these, the regular educational forces of Canada could take a responsible part, as well as supporting the educational personnel within the prison system.

Recently, a letter arrived from the one person in the Federal system whose judgement I most respect about the education of the Canadian prisoner. In it, he said that he at last knew what the OISE Study Team were trying to convey in their report. It was not just a matter of the truth or quality of the specific recommendations. It was much more, and much simpler than that - nothing more nor less than a shift in perspective or paradigm, and the understanding that the entire, total prison enterprise and culture is an educative one. If that transformation were understood, it would affect every decision about personnel, and administration, and program, and budget, just as certainly as the concept that the prison culture is about custody.

Of course, I think he is right, and that we need to know more about the prisoner, but also, about the rest of us, as well, the other actors in this great drama of education.

I once asked the superintendent of a successful penitentiary in India if there had been many changes in the prison conditions of India. "Oh yes", he said, "many changes. Mostly in us!"

APPENDIX

EXTRACT FROM

ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION REVIEW
OF
PENITENTIARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING
1978-1979

PHASE 1: REPORT TO REVIEWERS, AUGUST 1978
EDUCATION AND TRAINING DIVISION
CANADIAN PENITENTIARY SERVICE

OISE REVIEW: RESPONSES FROM TEACHERS AND INSTRUCTORS. N-182

10. How would you describe the inmates' motivation for education or training?

Answer	Number	%
1) They are well motivated and see the value of education and training.	47	25.8
2) They are no more interested in education and training than in other activities in the institution.	11	6.0
3) They generally select an education or training program to avoid some other more disagreeable activity.	21	11.5
4) They select education or training because they believe it improves their chances of being granted parole.	55	30.2

11. (a) Are the inmates in your program as interested in education and training as are other students (non-inmates)?

Answer	Number	%
1) Inmates are more interested in education and training than are non-inmates.	29	15.9
2) Inmates and non-inmates are equally interested in education education.	51	28.0
3) Inmates are less interested in education and training than are non-inmates.	39	21.4
4) I am unable to compare.	47	25.8

11. (b) How much does inmate pay level motivate inmates to begin and continue in education and training?

Answer	Number	%
1) Inmate participation in educ education and training is not significantly affected by their inmate pay level.	96	52.7
2) Inmates may begin an education or training program to get a higher level of pay, or a bonus, but pay will not keep them in a program.	44	24.2
3) Higher pay is sufficient motivation for inmates to begin a program, and to continue in it.	23	12.6

(c) How important is bonus-pay to inmates in education and training?

Answer	Number	%
1) Very important	40	22.0
2) Fairly important	52	22.6
3) Not important	54	27.7

13. Do the majority of inmates in your program have the same general level of ability as other adult students?

Answer	Number	%
1) Inmates have more ability than non-inmates.	13	7.1
2) Inmates and non-inmates have similar abilities.	84	46.2
3) Inmates have less ability than non-inmates.	29	15.9
4) I am unable to judge.	53	29.1

14. What is the average age of inmates in your program?

Answer	Number	%
15 - 17	3	1.6
18 - 20	23	12.6
21 - 23	33	18.1
24 - 26	67	37.9
27 - 29	22	12.1
30 - 32	18	9.9
33 - 35	4	2.2
36 plus	1	0.5

15. When inmates begin your program, are they generally at the level of ability one would expect, judging from their previous claimed grade level?

Answer	Number	%
1) Their level of ability is generally below the claimed grade level.	120	65.9
2) Their level of ability is generally at the claimed grade level.	42	23.1
3) Their level of ability is generally above the claimed grade level.	4	2.2
4) I am unable to judge.	14	7.7

18. Do you consider that inmates in your program have to work as hard as inmates in other employment areas within your institution?

Answer	Number	%
1) Generally, inmates must work harder in my program, than in other institutional activities.	70	38.5
2) Generally, inmates in my program work as hard as others in other institutional activities.	61	33.5
3) Generally, inmates in my program work less hard than others in other institutional activities.	8	4.4
4) I am unable to compare with other work areas.	33	18.1

34. Because inmates are physically adult, they may be assumed to be adult in their feelings and thinking as well. However, not everyone agrees that inmates behave in adult ways. In your opinion, which of the following descriptions best fits your inmate-students?

Answer	Number	%
1) Fully developed adults, emotionally and mentally.	14	7.7
2) Emotionally adolescent, and mentally adult.	46	25.3
3) Adolescents, both emotionally and mentally.	54	29.7
4) Emotionally children, and mentally adolescent.	19	10.4
5) Children, both emotionally and mentally.	8	4.4
6) Other	20	11.0

OISE REVIEW: RESPONSES FROM INMATES. N-223

4. What value do you place on education or training?

	Answers	Number	%
1)	I am highly motivated regarding education and training, and consider it valuable	149	66.8
2)	Education and training are no more valuable than are other activities in the institution	24	10.8
3)	I prefer education or training in the institution because these are less disagreeable than are other activities in the institution	14	6.3
4)	I prefer education or training because I think they improve my chances of getting a parole	16	7.2

7. Do the education and trades training available here suite your needs and interests?

Answers.	Number	%
1) They have generally what I want		
True	95	42.6
False	87	39.0
2) Once I complete a basic program, they don't have the more advanced programs		
True	104	46.6
False	47	21.1
3) They don't even have the basic programs I want		
TRUE	84	37.7
FALSE	77	34.5
4) There are some good programs, but you have to wait a long time to get in them		
TRUE	101	45.3
FALSE	54	24.2
5) It's hard to know just what programs there are here, or which ones you should choose		
TRUE	64	28.7
FALSE	86	38.6
6) It's hard to combine the things I want for example, academic and vocational training		
TRUE	95	42.6
False	53	23.8

9. Do education and trades training require as much effort as other work in the institution?

	Answers	Number	%
1)	Generally, education and trades training require more effort than does other work in the institution	135	60.5
2)	Education and trades training require about the same amount of effort as other work in the institution	49	22.0
3)	Education and trades training require less effort than does other work in the institution	13	5.8

a) Have you ever taken other academic education or trades training in a penitentiary?

	Number	%
YES	90	40.4
NO	123	55.2

b) If yes, name the last type of education or trades training you took in an institution?

ANSWERS	Number	%
Language	3	1.3
Math	7	3.1
Science	0	0
History	1	0.4
Geography	2	0.9
Social studies	1	0.4
Psychology	1	0.4
Sociology	3	1.3
Philosophy	0	0
Business	3	1.3
Economics	0	0
Law	0	0
Barbering	2	0.9
Upholstering	2	0.9
Carpentry	5	2.2
Cabinet making	1	0.4

	Answers	Number	%
9. b)	Autobody	4	1.8
	Auto-mechanic	2	6.9
	Machine shop	0	0
	Sheet metal	1	0.4
	Plumbing	0	0
	Horticulture	0	0
	Welding	5	2.2
	Electronics	4	1.8
	Crafts	0	0
	Brick-laying, masonry	0	0
	Painting	0	0
	Draftings	1	0.4
	Small engines	1	0.4
	Life skills	3	1.3
	Tailoring	1	0.4
	Cooking-baking	2	0.9

At what level?

Level 1 - 4	4	1.8
" 5 - 10	15	6.7
" 11 - 13	19	8.5
College	10	4.5
University	7	3.1
Trade non apprent.	3	1.3
Trades Apprent.	6	2.7
Non credit	0	0

	Answers	Number	%
	Duration		
1)	1 - 2 months	7	3.1
2)	3 - 4 "	10	4.5
3)	5 - 6 "	14	6.3
4)	7 - 8 "	5	2.2
5)	9 - 10 "	4	1.8
6)	11 - 12 "	6	2.7
7)	13 - 14 "	3	1.3
8)	15 - more	24	10.8

What kind of credit did you get from the program?

	Answers	Number	%
1)	Provincial school credit	30	13.5
2)	" trade credit	13	5.8
3)	Private school credit	2	0.9
4)	Community college credit	19	8.5
5)	An institutional certificate	16	7.2
6)	Other	2	0.9

e) What does this education or training you are now doing lead to, for you? (Check all possible)

	Answers	Number	%
1)	Another education or training program in the institution	24	10.8
2)	An education or training program outside the institution	43	19.3
3)	Other work in the institution	43	19.3
4)	Employment outside the institution	45	20.2
5)	Nothing in particular	25	11.2
6)	Don't know	14	6.3

14. What kind of teacher or instructor do you prefer?

Answers	Number	%
1) One who tells you exactly what steps you have to go through, and in what order, and makes you stick to his plan	32	14.3
2) One who tells you what steps you have to go through, in order at least to cover the important things, but lets you do them in the order you prefer	92	41.3
3) One who asks you to find your own areas of interest, as well as telling you how to follow his course of study	65	29.1
4) One who would rather you discover your own interests, than make you follow his course	19	8.5

15. About how much time, in total, will you serve on this sentence?

Answers	Number	%
2 years or less	73	32.7
3 "	33	14.8
4 "	22	9.9
5 "	11	4.9
6 years	11	4.9
7 - 8 years	13	5.8
9 -10 "	11	4.9
11 or more	29	13.0

16. About how much time, in total, have you spent in federal penitentiary?

Answers	Number	%
2 years (or less)	104	46.6
3 "	26	11.7
4 "	15	6.7
5 "	13	5.8
6 "	14	6.3
7 - 8 years	9	4.0
9 - 10 "	7	3.1
11 or more	21	9.4

Education and Training Activity
Reported Education Levels of Inmates

REGION	BELOW GRADE V	GRADES V to VII	GRADES VIII and IX	GRADES X and XI	GRADES XII and above	TOTAL REPORTED	TOTAL POPULATION	% REPORTED
Atlantic	42	155	183	93	38	511	864	59%
Quebec	104	423	697	536	207	1967	3045	65%
Ontario	61	202	597	488	242	1590	2410	66%
Prairie	38	160	306	253	125	882	1835	48%
Pacific	26	110	288	261	207	892	1249	71%
Total	271	1050	2071	1631	819	5842	9403	62%
%	4.6	18.0	35.5	27.9	14.0	-	-	-

58.1%

HOW THE PRISONER SEES EDUCATION

Keith Whetstone

By way of introduction, and as to my familiarity with the topic of how the prisoner sees education, I was first sentenced to the penitentiary at the age of sixteen. At present I am thirty-four, and have served five years of my fourth penitentiary sentence, a term of thirteen years. I have been a student within the University of Victoria Program for four years, have been a tutor for eighteen months, and I am presently in the process of completing the final three credits requisite for the B.A. degree.

To understand how convicts see education within prison you must first have some comprehension of how they see the total prison experience. I do not address myself here to first offenders, but to recidivists such as myself. The individual manner in which each convict envisions and copes with the prison experience is as varied as the range of sentences, and the wealth of personalities. However, there are generalizable modes of reasoning and patterns of behavior. Those modes and patterns are in relation to the normative structure of the institution in which the convict is housed - be that a maximum, medium, or minimum security institution, - his stance towards authority, and a manner of cognition grounded in how he views his criminal behavior.

By far the greater number of convicts housed in Canadian Penitentiaries have lengthy criminal histories, and have no intention of changing their ways. Such men reason that theft is not a question of morality, but one of risk and consequence. Given favourable probabilities they will always take the risk. A byword from the convict lexicon that clearly illustrates such reasoing is "if you can't do the time, don't do the crime" with its obvious inverse implications.

While most convicts utilize the risk-cost mode of reasoning without the mediation of morality, they may be divided into two types, each with a different view on prison. First are the professional criminals who have enjoyed some degree of success, and who see prison as an occassional occupational hazard. Second are the professional convicts to whom prison is a near permanent lodging, interspaced with brief stints of freedom, and rampant criminal behavior.

Upon returning to prison each convict assesses his situation. This evaluation results in a decision concerning how the individual will serve his sentence. The decision revolves around parole possibilities, the likelihood of transfer to lesser security, favourable work placements, and the individuals stance towards authority. As for parole and transfer considerations, he is fully cognizant of the import that the authorities place on the length of sentence, history of criminality, past institutional behavior, family or other outside support, and finally involvement in self-improvement programs. If his history is not overly prohibitive he pays particular attention to discovering which programs are currently in or out of favour. He rationally weighs all the factors and decides on a course of action. Of course the overriding factor is his stance towards authority, for if overly negative it will pervert rational self interest.
While all convicts go through an identical reasoning process and make initial decisions about how they will serve their time, the wheat is separated from the chaff,

so to speak by the classification of convicts to various institutions.

Finding myself at the maximum security B.C. Penitentiary in New Westminister as a four time loser, I was all too aware of my situation. Sometime during the mandatory thirty days induction period - that I was quickly informed was perfunctory in my case - I happened across a number of old acquaintances discussing the university program, and the upcoming semester. I sat and listened. My first impression was,"who are these guys putting on with their two-bit words." But, at least their conversation wasn't the same old convict gossip. Sensing my curiosity, two of the group that I knew particularly well drew me aside and tried to convince me to enroll.

The university program advocates based their argument for enrollment in an appeal to self-interest. As I recall it, the line of that argument went: "what else are you going to do, you've got a lot of time to kill, the university is the best go in the joint, no no hassles, no pigs, and your doing something for you." My reply was "I'm not into school, never was, and besides I'd only completed grade eleven equivalency." They countered with "no one said you had to do it seriously, fraud it for one term that should be enough time to get security off your back as an escapee, and get you a cell in B7. This latter being a better part of the institution to be housed in. The conversation ended with a promise from me to visit the university area before enrollment was cut off.

My initial visit to the University of Victoria classrooms cinched my enrollment. Perhaps the thing that impressed me most that morning was the general geniality between the teachers and students. Although there was a marked difference in the ambiance of the room whenever the door was open to the rest of the prison, and when it was shut with a resounding thud. Besides the thirty or so convict/students the only other people locked in the school area were two teachers, who everyone seemed concerned to assure me were not Penitentiary staff but University of Victoria people.

One of the teachers enrolled me that morning in a remedial English course, first year English, history and philosophy. I wasn't worried about being in over my head, because I had no intention of doing anymore than was necessary to keep from being sent to another work placement. My first classes were uneventful.

I recall the general concensus of the first year students as being that, although the expected study load was burdensome, the lectures could be dull or entertaining given individual preferences. Everyone was agreed however, on the point that the professors naivety was worth the price of admission. We conjectured that perhaps all professors sought refuge within the ivory towers, because they didn't have what it took to compete in the real dog eat dog world. And most puzzling, was why would anyone come here to teach after all those years at university.

Besides the regular instructors there was two convict/student tutors. They were fourth year students who were highly motivated. Overhearing them refuse to help a student plagiarize his paper, I was shocked. This was a direct contradiction of the convict code of solidarity against all authority. That same code attached a degree of stigma to any behavior that could be construed as orientated towards rehabilitation. Consequently in maximum security very few students strive to attain their academic potential, for the rehab-stigma is compounded by other oppressions which crush, if not extinguishing hope. Good students are either seeking escape from prisons realities, or have some hope of transfer to lesser security.

About two weeks into that first term I was tired of spending my days listening to raconteurs among the hard core professional convicts bid for the spotlight - so I started paying more attention in class. Once I started listening, what the instructors had to say wasn't actually that dull. All you had to do was make sure that you had done the assigned readings, and it - even became interesting. Of course I was spending more time with the dictionary than I was reading texts.

Reading history intrigued me most, and it was in history class that I first spoke out. Classes ranged from a general free for all to silent drudging through a weighty lecture. The first issue I felt strongly enough about to speak out on was the great man theory of history versus social forces. I, and as I discovered most of my fellow students, favoured the idea of individual leaders of forceful wills making their stamp on the world. Our instructor queried me down the path to the relationship of individuals to social, and economic forces. Even though his argument overwhelmed us, I left the classroom thinking articulate chatter had baffled common sense. But that lecture still sticks in my mind as motivating me to read more attentively, if only to articulate my viewpoint better.

Compared to history, each of my other classes were somewhat reserved. Although, I recall with humour an incident that indicates my scholarly prowess of that time. With the advent of mid-terms my first philosophy paper was returned marked in red ink, "You seem to have some grasp of the Empiricists, but it is fundamental to the study of philosophy that one be able to write a simple sentence." Seeing myself as a dummy did not please me. It was agreed that I could continue in the course only if I went over each papers rough draft with the tutors.

Between students who exhibited any spark of motivation there was a definite sense of co-operation and affiliation. Outside the university within the prison proper the student bond, and scholarly pursuit, was in fact an escape. The university area itself was a refuge from the violent tensions of the prison, for once that door was shut it was as if the prison was locked out.

Halfway through my second term the liberation of the school environment, and the ego gratification I had found there, had dramatically altered my academic motivation. I had no intention however, of continuing my studies any longer than was necessary to secure a transfer. My motivation had altered from an original desire to exploit an alternative environment, to a strategy for transfer, but equally important was a developing appreciation for the intrinsic value of a liberal education.

Shortly after the close of my first year as a student, I was transferred to Matsqui for the purpose of continuing my education at the sister program there.

While going through induction I - as are all other inductees - was given a tour of the Academic Center. This building which housed the university facilities was completely separate from, and some distance away from the Living Unit.

Within the Living Unit I was surprised to discover that the students living on the university tier decided by way of vote who would be given any opening on their tier. This decision being the criteria that prison administrators acted on. As there was only twenty six cells to a tier, one university tier and fifty to sixty students, a vote seemed elitist. However, not all students wished to live on the tier and be exposed to constant academia. After prudent consideration I passed the voting criteria of academic commitment, and was moved into the first opening.

During that first term at Matsqui I was enthused to find that besides the better facilities, a greater number of committed students, and a larger course offering, academic discussion was carried over to the hallways and the rest of the prison to a far greater degree than at New Westminister. University at Matsqui was a total experience.

The foundation of that total educational experience was the classroom with its demand for academic rigor. Within class the pedogogical method was a balance of authoritative lectures, and democratic seminars which were limited to the universe of discourse of whatever formal discipline was at hand. What was formally taught in the classroom however, I found to be organically related to the social life of the university in its attempt to create a just and democractic environment. That ideal being actively persued by a five member student council, and all resident instructors.

Eventually elected to the student council, I had an opportunity to see myself and others transfer the combination of the abstract role taking from literature, and history, the pro and cons of intellectual rigor, and the tools of social science to concrete social problems. How right our first year psychology instructor was when he told us, "There is two ways to approach psychology either as an abstraction or as something fundamental to your lived experience, with the latter being prudent self defence." Finally, outside the academic center but assaulted by that experience, was the prison with its authoritarian social relations, and distorted communication due to stereotyping by both keeper and kept.

Most students caught up in the totality of the classroom, alternative environment and prison experience, do not become conscious of the organic relationship of theory and practice as being integral to their own development. Those who do are invariably students of history, who see the contradiction of a just community within prison as having some symmetry with the contradiction at the center of history.

Although most students favoured the attempt at a just community there was a variety of opinions about its validity, and the programs autonomy from the Corrections Service. Those arguments in themselves were educational. With a number of students at different intellectual and educational levels, it was readily observable amongst ourselves that attitudes, and the manner of dealing with social problems altered with the development of ones reasoning and language abilities.

Men we had known for years as fellow recidivists, but who were a year or two ahead of us as students were so altered in character and disposition as to be unrecognizable. Changing attitudes and vocabulary however, distanced students from their former convict peers. As a result student affiliative bonds tightened. But rather than leading to charges of elitism, senior students were much favoured as prisoner representatives because of their reasoning and articulation abilities. Education initially entered into as an escape from prison is often taken back into the prison community as a positive force by the same individual.

Indeed, what stigma was attached to academic commitment in maximum security was absent at Matsqui. Some students actually seemed to consider themselves students who also happened to be convicts. In private conversations it came across very clearly that everyone experienced, and was gratified by the sense of accomplishment that accompanied each successful exam, essay, or the completion of a course. Education was a liberation in every sense of the word, for it filled the vacuum of prison with something meaningful. The attractions of the convict culture with its drugs and shiftlessness, versus the demands of academia, for some men, seemed to be a constant battle of character. Each successful term then becomes both a personal acquital, and an educational affirmation. Often the persona of student is worn like a badge of honor, as witnessed to by the large number of iconic University of Victoria T shirts worn.

Upon completion of his second year, or after accomplishing thirty units, half of the necessary sixty required for the venerated B.A., much of culture has been transmitted, and the individual thinks, writes and speaks effectively. Also, given the confidence of hard won intellectual abilities, and success at an enterprise positively regarded by all, from fellow convicts to family and society, the individuals self-image appears to take a positive leap. Occasionally accompanying the development of intellect, attitude, and self-concept, is a seemingly morphological transformation. This latter may be attributed to a cluster of positive factors, developing self concept, modeling upon favoured instructors or senior students, and new approaches to physiological health. Finally the individuals perception of his relation to the future is dramatically altered. It is not uncommon to hear students at this point repeating phrases synonymous with "a liberal education may not teach you skills whereby you can earn a living, but it does teach you how to live!"

Often we hear the concept of egocentricity, or the hypothesis concerning the relationship of aggression to frustration applied to explain criminal behavior. The egocentric reasoning and behavior patterns of adult criminals, by my observations, are rooted in early learned responses to, and compensation for, failure whether in primary or secondary socialization processes. Criminal disregard for others translates deep rooted feelings of insecurity into psyche compensation. Egocentricity as developmental lag may be profitably viewed as an equilibration response to early ego-crisis. Thus given the motivational processes mentioned herein, we may better understand why a liberal education grounded in an authoritative, democratic pedagogy, successfully restores so called hardened criminals to society as honest citizens.

Perhaps a recent incident best illustrates how convicts see education. The night of June second, Matsqui was devastated by a riot of arson and property damage. No students participated. With the morning of June third close to three hundred convicts were moved into the Academic Center. Prison and R.C.M.P. security forces surrounded, but did not enter the center.

During their second day there, students became cognizant of the youthful rioters intentions of burning the library. A number of senior students grouped together, and discussed how to deal with this problem. During prison riots it is near tradition for convicts to burn the last place they occupy. Given the circumstances, what would persuade these rioters not to damage the academic center? Remembering that we had once been them, the only method of persuasion they were likely to appreciate was either violence, or an appeal to convict solidarity. An argument that the university was both a means of reconciliation with society, and an end as the sign of ameliorated humanity, would leave them unmoved and would likely incite them.

Ultimately an appeal to convict solidarity was tried. It was suggested to the would be arsonists that the university was not a part of the penitentiary system, and that these books had done many a convict a good service by helping him to kill a few years, and if left alone would continue to do the same in the future. That appeal presented by men they respected as convicts begrudgingly won them over. The academic center was left relatively unscathed.

In closing, I state emphatically, that only when prisons become truly enlightened educational institutions will criminals be restored to society as honest and forthright citizens. Finally I would take this opportunity to thank Dr. Parlett, Dr. Ayers, and all those teachers I have encountered who have done so much to bring the privilege of a university education to a section of disadvantaged humanity.

THE PRISON AS SCHOOL

Stephen Duguid

We are engaged in somewhat dangerous activities at this conference, activities which not only run counter to much of the accepted wisdom of our times, but also pose some moral problems that are timeless. The not so hidden agenda of the conference aims to make a case for prison education, for the idea that educational programs in the prison can have a beneficial, perhaps even decisive, impact on the prisoner.

Inevitably, this agenda becomes a possible justification for prisons and imprisonment, both of what are questionable on moral and on practical grounds. Corrections is not a popular subject these days, diversion, community care, and prevention being the vogue. The prison is condemned as archaic, barbarous, and only necessary for the very few incorrigibles in our midst.

One quite prominent expert in the field of criminology turned down an invitation to come to this conference, saying the "positive reforms" implicit on the agenda would only serve to "ensure the long-term future of the prison, when really our efforts must be devoted to the dimunition of the prison as an institution." This issue is no mere aside. The problem which brings us here is crime and we must be clear whether the prison is part of the problem or part of the solution.

Having taught in a Federal prison for six years, I certainly mourned the presence of many of the men in my classroom, men who were only being corrupted or further corrupted by their enforced brotherhood, men who were perfectly capable of functioning in the community and of making some kind of restitution for their acts. I also mourned for men made unnecessarily bitter by prolonged confinement, a confinement which while perhaps productive of honest personal reflection in the beginning, had long since turned counter-productive. As well, in those six years I sustained a sense of outrage at the very notion of forced confinement, of walls, barbed wire, mindless rules and all the other baggage inherent in that context.

Despite this, I did not emerge from that experience an abolitionist - rather I appear as a reformer. It is clear that some men should not be incarcerated for their criminal acts - others should perhaps be given a short, harsh shock treatment and then reprieved. There are others, however, who present a more complicated case, and I think their numbers to be far greater than a few incorrigibles. Though I hate to admit it, I think the gun lobby has a point when it argues that "guns don't kill people, people kill people." Prisons don't commit crimes, people commit crimes - a few people commit quite a few crimes, consistently. I would go further and argue that these people choose quite deliberately to commit these crimes and, further still, that environmental factors are not the major consideration in those decisions. (Duguid, 1981a)

This group goes by many names - professional criminals, career criminals, or simply repeat offenders. Their existence is no doubt to some degree a result of the juvenile justice system, but it is also a result of our educational system, our eroding family structure, a cyclical economy, the persistence of racial discrimination, the widespread use of drugs and alcohol, a persistent materialism without just access to wealth, and so forth, all problems which go far beyond the prison system. The repeat offenders I met were hardened in their attitudes and confident in their self-image - immune to social workers, therapists and the legal market economy - they had internalized the role of 'outsider'.

My argument, then, is that these criminals are unique individuals, not mere wayward citizens accidentally entrapped in the criminal justice system. For most men in the prison their path to that end has been the result of a long series of decisions to commit acts known to be illegal, albeit decisions that have gone awry.

These decisions do not take place in a vacumn called free will but rather in a context, a context determined by the circumstances and record of their lives. If I might borrow a paradigm from Dr. Tony Parlett, this context consists of three factors:

(1) Structures: The economic and social world into which they are born - predominately working class with a significant incidence of criminal history in the family, alcohol/drug problems at home and family instability.

(2) Cultures: Their early and steadfast membership in a criminal subculture through juvenile gangs, peers met in institutions and the subsequent labeling process.

(3) Biographies: The record of their travels through both structure and culture. (Parlett, 1980)

The impact of these factors on the individual is obviously profound and much of it beyond the reach of any intervention. Their biographies are already writ, their socio-economic world a harsh reality. In all too many cases, the weight of these forces will impel the individual toward continued criminal acts after release or, more precisely, toward decisions to commit criminal acts.

A gloomy view so far, but there are chinks in this armour or, if you will, light at the end of the tunnel. Just as there is no free will in these matters, there is no iron-clad inevitability either. We are talking about decisions to commit acts, implying some thinking or reasoning process. Thus a cognitive factor appears, a factor subject to change through learning. It can be argued that the criminal makes bad decisions, bad for us - bad for him. These decisions spring from an underdeveloped reasoning ability, an immature set of attitudes, and a rather crude sense of social relations. (Duguid, 1981b)

Structures, Cultures and Biographies both cause and perpetuate this underdevelopment. By intervening with an educational experience aimed at developing thinking skills, moral reasoning abilities, social skills, and political awareness, we can directly affect the individual's sense of culture, his perception and understanding of his biography, and thereby affect future decisions.

To be more specific, studies in the US and Canada indicate quite clearly that many criminals suffer from 'cognitive deficits', that is, their thinking or reasoning skills are less sophisticated, less 'developed' than those of their peers. This manifests itself in impulsive behaviour, an inability to consider the consequences of actions, an inability to see issues from another's perspective, and a tendency to see all issues in terms of polar opposites. Cognitive deficits such as these are by no means unique to criminals, but given their cohesiveness, backgrounds, and self-image/label, they do result in a kind of cognitive distinctiveness. I have summarized this distinctive thinking style as follows:

(1) Cynicism - A negative view of human nature and total denial of altruism.
(2) Economism - Material motives have universal validity.
(3) Empiricism - All ideas related back to personal experience.
(4) Extremism - Adherence to either fatalism of free will.

Coupled to these cognitive characteristics is an accompanying underdevelopment of moral reasoning abilities, with poorly reasoned conceptions of right and wrong and inappropriate notions of justice and reciprocity in human interactions.

These problems in reasoning ability combined with the high level of early institutionalization, labeling, and association with criminal peers leads to a certain 'way of seeing' or cognitive style which contributes directly and decisively to decisions to commit further criminal acts. Thus he tends to have crude notions of power and the exercise of power, has authoritarian tendencies akin to Adorno's definition of the "Authoritarian Personality", a rigid conformity to social conventions and an adherence to whatever sexual, racial or religious rules are dominant in the group. Far from being a 'rebel', these reasoning deficiencies make most criminals true conformists.

Approached from this perspective, the prospects for sometimes dramatic change in the individual, even while incarcerated, are much improved. The goal is a developmental one, first in reasoning skills, then in moral reasoning, and finally in socio-political awareness and thus behaviour. The criminal is not merely stubborn in his refusal to abide by accepted social and moral norms, nor is he pre-determined by race, class or genes to function in the nether world of deceit, violence, and criminality. Rather, he is quite unable to reason himself out of this world, unable to perceive or imagine alternative ways of functioning.

If cognitive development, moral reasoning, and socio-political awareness are crucial factors in criminal decision-making, then it is obvious that education is the most efficient and effective medium for bringing about development in all three areas. It is, however, a special notion of education that is required - education for thinking and for character, not merely for content. It is not the acquisition of knowledge that is at issue here, but rather the cognitive skills that are developed and exercised in the process of acquiring and using knowledge. (Klemp, 1977)

Education, according to the Greeks, was concerned with the making of men, not the training of men to make things. According to R.S. Peters, education is a "commitment to what is thought valuable, specifically, the development of individual potential, intellect and character." (in Harvey & Rovers, 1981) This notion of education can find a home in many aspects of prison education, but is perhaps best served through the traditional humanities disciplines, disciplines designed to make students more human and civilized, giving them a broader and less provincial perspective, a better sense of judgment and taste, and a greater insight and intellectual discipline based on the acquired habit of precise and critical thinking. (Kristeller, 1981)

To bring about this developmental end, the prison must obviously contain a school, an education program. To truly realize the potential of this approach, the prison must in fact become a school, infusing a developmental goal in all its activities. Instead of obedience, punishment and training, the goals of the prison must shift to growth maturity and sophistication. Since growth occurs only through conflict, the passion for stability and order must be abandoned and prison staff recognize that reasoned conflict, even turmoil, is all right. In this learning atmosphere there would be crises; debates and confrontations, but no doubt fewer riots and less violence. (Duguid, 1980)

There are three essential components to such a developmental approach to education and the prison: curriculum, counselling, and community. I have alluded to one type of curriculum already, the study of the humanities.

The humanities have been featured from the beginning in the very successful U-Vic Program, but this should not necessarily preclude the use of other subjects. The curriculum must remain the core of any education program, the base which provides the issues, debates and conflict essential for cognitive and moral development. It must, as James Rest says, 'stretch' the students' thinking processes, challenge him, and at the same time offer some guidance through argument and example. (Rest, 1974)

The counselling function may be informal and individual or structured in a group setting. It can centre on academic issues or deal with very real personal and social problems. It must, however, be consistently present. The development process being pursued is not an easy one, especially for the student. To talk of justice and reciprocity in the classroom when beyond the door is a world of injustice and authoritarianism produces tensions which must be dealt with.

Finally, it has long been my belief, and I stress the "My" because several of my colleagues disagree, that for these developments to mature and be internalized they must be linked to some form of practice. Just as structure and culture were seen as decisive in maintaining underdevelopment, a new structure and culture are decisive in nurturing development. To this end, I have argued that a community must be created within the prison environment, perhaps only within the education program, which operates on the principles of justice, reciprocity, and democracy. No easy task in a prison, perhaps impossible, but the attempt alone may be enough to provide a forum in which new ideas, new 'ways of seeing' may be given a chance to clash, conform with, and even change reality. To paraphrase Karl Marx, it is all too easy to merely understand the world, the real point is to set about changing it. The same can be said of the self.

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SUMMARY OF SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Ian Morrison

What I have been asked to do is synthesize, from that you take the word synthetic and from that you take the word unreal! I'm reminded of a joke in a recent Globe and Mail. A report about a parliamentary task force on employment opportunities in the 1980's, stated that what's wrong with federal manpower programs is that they are made on too high a floor of a building in Ottawa. There's an accompanying cartoon with someone at the top of a building in Ottawa, issuing an order to: "Save land". Then there's another caption, midway down the building with someone passing the order along.. The second version is: "Shave land". At the bottom you see a couple of workmen walking out of the building to a machine that obviously has some tar in it. The order now reads: "Pave sand".

In somewhat the same vein, 135 of us left here at 11 o'clock this morning and entered eight discussion groups with well meaning discussion leaders, perhaps even talented discussion leaders. What they heard is what's important to what you're about to hear. While you were enjoying your lunch some of us, as an alternative, were talking about what those eight individuals had heard in order to make some sense out of it. It is my responsibility now, to tell you what I heard from those people who heard you. If you hear nothing that happened in your group, I guess I'll get a low rating. On the other hand, if you hear everything, then I've paid too much attention to the person that was recording your group's thoughts and not enough to someone else's. The sense of the discussion sessions was contained in the following series of verbs and nouns: excited, engaged, angry, stimulated, interesting, heavy. That was the sense that I got of what happened in the eight groups. I have put together a mosaic or a series of impressions from those groups. Try to consider this feedback as coming under ten topics and recognize that there hasn't been much time to prepare this presentation.

With that introduction, here are ten points, issues or concerns that seem to emerge. First there was a feeling on the part of some groups of a tremendous disharmony between educational efforts in the provincial systems and in the federal system. A need was expressed for more contact between the two, if educational interests were to be promoted.

Secondly, picking up on a point that Arnold Edinborough made about the need for public education some discussants proposed that prisoners themselves have more of a role to play than they have been able to play in the past, in communicating the results of educational activities within prisons to the public. Also, those who are engaged in the education of prisoners as teachers and administrators have a common interest that has to be mobilized to inform the public about the importance of what is going on. Comments from other groups were targeted at public education in another way, in the education of wardens, guards, etc. But the overall theme had to do with public awareness of the value of education for prisoners.

There was a feeling that a prerequisite for learning within a prison was the creation of a learning environment or a learning community. Some citicized the plenary session as paying too much attention to curriculum questions and to the content of the learning, and not enough to the importance of the teacher. If anything, recruitment of teachers may be a more important factor than the content of the educational program. The personal skills that an individual brings to prisons is critical. Therefore it is important to recruit the highest possible quality teachers for prison programs.

There was also some discussion of the need for integration of policy. The various interests within the correctional systems apparently have different goals, different motivations, different interests, and as a result, there are conflicting messages. Out of that came a concern on the part of some groups about varying messages being given to prisoners about learning. There was a feeling that educational programs only gradually impact on people, and that motivations for joining programs are varied. As a consequence when the pay system is sending a message that learning is not very important to the prisoner, can prisoners be brought into educational programs that have great potential benefit.

Another concern had to do with the lack of linkage in the whole criminal justice system. From the point of view of the individual prisoner as a potential learner there is no linkage between the sentencing system, the incarceration system, and the parole and reintegration into society system. There was, in particular, very little linkage between inside educational programs in the prison and the post-release situation. In other words, the sytem was not centered on the needs of the individual, but upon other concerns.

Another issue in a number of groups was the emphasis upon the university level, when the proportion of prisoners who can enter at this level is only a fraction of those at the adult basic level. There was also skepticism that the techniques in the University of Victoria program could be transferred. There were some people saying it could definitely be transferred, with others saying they were skeptical. Strong positions were expressed by both sides.

Most groups expressed the need to assert that education is a right of all persons. The right to an education is not to be taken away from prisoners. Locking up is the punishment; educational rights remain. However, it was noted there was some resentment over the fact that a prisoner might have access to a university education when an individual might difficulty obtaining such an opportunity for her or his children.

A number of groups were concerned with the typical dichotomy between education and training programs. There were pleas for more integration of theory and practice as between mathematics and the shop, and for learning the skills of studying, organizing information, and making choices.

Some expressed the position that there wasn't any amoral or immoral education, that all education is moral. It is not possible to have value free education, and that the term moral itself might be unhelpful and a disservice to the ideal that it's seeking to promote. There was considerable debate and discussion too about the use of alternative terms such as values and values clarification.

Finally, one or two of the group leaders felt that they were dealing with idealistic people in the best sense of the word and most groups expressed a very strong sense of faith in education as a rehabilitative, or reformative process that helps prisoners integrate into society.

Comments on Summary: Roby Kidd

At the risk of being redundant, I will pick up on several points. The first has to do with providing if not moral education, moral experiences, life values changing experiences for the very large numbers who have short sentences where they can't take a long course in the humanities. I think we should be investigating the impact of all experiences on the life of the prisoner. In many cases my own preference would be not to have courses at all, but to engage a person in another kind of experience, a more intensive one. We really need to be as enterprising in finding alternatives as the UVic group have been inventive in dealing with the university program.

Secondly, I am much impressed with the need for these remarkable people who are inside, either as guards or teachers or administrators, or whatever, who have chances of continuing their education. They deserve the opportunity and the present arrangements don't always make it easy for them. I hope that more will be done of this kind and I note the projects of the University of British Columbia with Donner funds in developing materials for some of the prisons.

Thirdly, we have talked glibly about the education of the public, at least I do, and I was echoing Arnold Edinborough in that respect. We have to be thinking of education of publics and being very specific about the various tasks. For example, for politicians there are certain messages that should be directed at them, in a sustained way, and not just in time of crisis. Certainly the press and broadcastors need a kind of education which we may have to cooperate in providing, because it's a very serious matter, what they do and may do. So the education of the public has a series of questions within it, that we need to plan more carefully.

Finally, I simply want to make a pitch for continuing to do what we are doing here. We come from widely different backgrounds, we have many different views and experiences but somehow we need to take enough time together to rationalize and reconcile these differences and find where we can work together for some of the solutions which won't come easy and will only come through sustained work by us. I'm just urging that the process that's going on here will continue.

Comments on Summary: Stephen Duguid

Most of the points seem very policy oriented and internal to correctional systems which I don't feel in a position to address. There are, however, several issues that I would like to comment on. I have been wrestling for some time with the extent to which the University of Victoria program can be copied, packaged or adapted. I have always been able in my mind to separate some of what I think are the very good and useful theoretical insights and intellectual model building from the actual physical model of a building and the curriculum. That's what people from elsewhere should view William Head or Matsqui or listen to myself or Doug Ayers or Tony Parlett. The UVic model, what is called, incorrectly, the Matsqui model, is very different at Kent and the B.C. Penitentiary. It's different at Matsqui now than it was four years ago. It's not a thing that exists. But, some of the ideas that float around it, I think, are universal. These are ideas that don't just happen in Canada and don't just happen in the 1980's or 1970's. Some of them happened centuries ago. They are ideas about human motivation. Why people act? What are the factors involved in their acting? Is there a relationship between thinking and acting? The question that Michael Ignatieff raised last night about a teacher's obligation is fundamental to anybody that tries to make education in prisons more than just a good thing to do. Eduction is a good thing to do; the humane thing to do. We could offer education to people who haven't had access to it and let it go at that. But some of us feel pushed to go further than that, and say not only that it's a good thing, but it will help or it will ammeliorate, or it will rehabilitate, or it will transform, or whatever. We believe that there's some connection between a person's ability to reason and think and a person's predilection to act in a certain way. We believe it's worth thinking about and seeing if it can be applied in other areas. It's just the current model and in a few year's time you'll be hearing about the Alaskan model because they are operating a similar model with their variations. Soon they will be coming to conferences like this one to tell people about the Anchorage model. Again you have to be able to separate the on-going and universal questions involved from the specific time and space examples that people keep going back to, to tie them to something, otherwise you are just talking in generalites. Nobody connected with the UVic program has ever proposed copying it. We wouldn't be that foolish.

A second issue that came up, which again has been on-going, is the issue of curriculum versus personality. The teacher versus the course. Where is the magic? Is the magic in the particular mix of the books and the environment or is it in the personality of the charismatic teacher that you toss into that mix? If you subtracted the teacher would you still have the thing going, or if you used any teacher and so on. As one of the teachers, of course, I had to say it was the curriculum, and I've had to insist on that otherwise you'd be all booing me out of the room. Frankly, I remain convinced that while there may be some unacceptable teachers or people who don't work in that situation, I found, in reflecting on the different instructors over six years, that the tendency was for instructors to rise to the occasion when presented with a structure which facilitated that rising. If you just toss instructors into a room and say, go teach, they might fail. Only the really extraordinary teacher might rise to the occasion. But if you arrange for the teachers to meet some of the students and have a coffee, show them the library, and generally help them out, most teachers can rise to the occasion. I'm skeptical that it's just the teacher. I think it's much more than that.

With regard to moral education I think those of you who are afraid of the word are mistaken because it's basically an established word and if you try to hide it under values, or ethics, people are going to root it out. They are going to know. It is not values clarification, it doesn't even come near resembling values clarification, which is something totally different. People have also suggested we call it ethics education.

Terminology and approaches are debated not just in prisons, but in places that deal with moral education per se.

Finally, while I'm a little idealistic and there's a bit of faith involved, I think that what I said in the very beginning is what's important. It isn't just faith. What we are trying to do, and what other people are trying to develop is rather sophisticated, I hate to say scientific, but, thoughtfully considered ideas that are not simply acts of faith, but have some basis in data, in other people's work, and in work in other times

Comments on Summary: Keith Whetstone

It wasn't until I was some way along in the program that I became aware of the so called hidden curriculum. I think the majority of students are quite satisfied with the idea that moral questions are natural parts of a humanities curriculum. It wasn't until the end of the first year that I gained sufficient insight to consider the possibility of a hidden curriculum. Because the instructor dealt with a variety of issues I wasn't sure what that curriculum was. There was some confusion in my mind at that time, was this another type of education, or was it another attempt at rehabilitation. For the first year student a direct approach to moral education could be very alienating. You might loose the student at that point. It would seem as if the students that I've encountered accept the idea that moral questions are a natural hand in glove part of humanities education. As far as moral development is concerned, how can there be any proof? As far as I'm concerned, the proof of moral development and cognitive development is in the fact that the recidivism rates are dramatically lower than they are in any other prison program. Admittedly there could be a number of factors reducing the recidivism but from my experience, people are missing the boat by not focusing more on the use of the humanities to promote moral development.

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTARY

Roby Kidd, Keith Whetstone, Stephen Duguid and others

Question 1:

I'd like to address a question to Keith Whetstone, I'd like to ask you to put yourself back to when you were at the B.C. Penitentiary and first contemplating going into some kind of program. At that point in time were you ready for some change in your life?

Response

As far as self-selection is concerned, no. I didn't become cognizant of any change in my thought processes concerning my criminal behaviour or prospects of future criminal behaviour until a point of perhaps twenty-four or more university credits. Until the time I was transferred to Matsqui, I had no intention of going there for any other purpose than escaping as soon as possible, and continuing in my criminal career.

Question 2:

Dr. Duguid, how would you describe the kind of moral education or critical thinking programming that could occur quickly, as we often have to deal with short periods of time, three months or at most a year and with prisoners in high school upgrading programs?

Response

First of all I would say I'm not the right person to answer your question. The right person is in the audience. My colleagues from U.B.C. have been developing a curriculum. My function has never been to speculate on high school programming because I didn't teach at that level. My function as I saw it was to say at the university level, here are some of the problems and tools that I used. Now those of you that teach in the high school program take these ideas or procedures and see what you can come up with.

Question 3:

Picking up on the issue of moral education I think that I would benefit from a definition of how moral education is being used here and whether everybody means the same thing. Also, how does it contrast with values clarification? Stephen Duguid, would you like to react please?

Response

I am not a moral educator; I don't do it - quite simply as that. I don't know what it is first of all, and I was not hired to do it, and never trained to do it. When I use the word moral in the context of prison, I use it in a sense of moral development as one of the developmental processes that I think result from a liberal education. What I think actually happens in the classroom, what I know actually happens in the classroom, is that I teach history, usually contemporary European or North Americal history. In the course of doing that various issues arise, quite on their own volition. I don't think the teachers that I know ever sort of went and said, now students, the moral issue for today is: should "x" have done "y". Then discuss it. That's the trick as it's taught in Harvard and various places, but we've never done that. What I found, much to my amazement was that the prison classroom was unlike a university classroom at Simon Fraser where I have taught before, and where there was a kind of overwhelming moral concensus in the classroom shared by my students and myself. Thus, there was very little room for moral issues to arise. We all know Hitler was bad. Thus, I had to go out and really play the devil's advocate to get a moral discussion going. In prison all kinds of things that one took for granted as part of your own moral concensus were suddenly up for grabs and had to be debated. Consequently, there was moral education going on. I presume, that is what it was, but it was not so directed and designed and planned. It was an outgrowth of using the humanities. That's why I would argue that humanities are best for bringing out those natural debates between teacher and student.

Comment: Ian Wright

We take it that morality has to do with how you treat the needs, interests and feelings of people and how you resolve conflicts between people. That means there must be some rules, standards, principles. We take justice, respect of persons, equality, as some of the key principles that one might focus upon. I think we all have some reasoning skills and we know what right and wrong is, also we can argue about these kinds of things and we can get much better at it. Therefore we have a program which looks at what we call critical thinking. This involves responding to questions like:

where's the evidence for saying this occurs? Is it true? Have you got your words used correctly? Can you pull that together in an argument? Having then an argument can you defend the principle from which you are coming? It is not Kohlberg. Moral education in prisons, from the literature I read, seems to be based mostly on Kohlberg and we believe the Kohlberg approach has shortcomings. We also believe values clarification is totally relativistic and therefore we don't touch it with a long pole. We call our approach a rational analysis approach. This does not mean that we have neglected emotions. However, we don't deal with them much because we haven't many clues on how to do it, but we do have some clues on how to improve reasoning. That is our approach.

Question 4:

All the conversation about educational models has focused on a very intensive and full educational experience. At Mission Institution we have from the beginning resisted very strongly demands to have a full educational program and that education endevours be a full work placement. It has been assumed that if inmates were motivated to educational courses that they would do them after hours. They would all have a full work day in the industries or technical services and that educational programs would take place in the evening and at their choice. This is consistent with the opportunities model. I am wondering if the panel members could respond to the proposition that inmates can receive an adequate education other than in the total immersion experience.

Response: Keith Whetstone

I'd like to respond to that because it's an issue that bothers me a great deal. Essentially, what we are talking about here, in the University of Victoria program, is that individuals are not self-selected. If individuals self-select themselves to pursue education, or to pursue moral education of one type or another, they are either already on the road to reformation or there's some trickery involved. I'll tell you something about industries. If you give an inmate a welding course, a barber's course, a painter's course, or whatever, what you have is a criminal that has that vocational background. My vision of the future of corrections is some idea of a combined concept of politechnical institute training and an education in humanities.

But as far as most prisoners seeking an education on their own after work hours. No. I only have to look at myself to realize that that never would have happened for me.

Essentially, what we are looking at here is providing a program for people that are so alienated by the system that you almost have to trick them to get them into school in the first place.

Response: Stephen Duguid

I taught for a semester at Mission with students who wanted to take a course after their working hours. It didn't go that well. The four or five dedicated students managed somehow to juggle their shifts around and get their assignments done. We had a semblance of the class. I am not convinced it would have continued for long in that kind of way. I tend to think that the immersion approach is probably an ideal situation but we can't always have ideal situations. Maybe in some institutions you have to end up with what you have at Mission, maybe it's alright for that institution and maybe that's the way it will have to be. The main thing is to keep the liberal education component available for each individual in an institution.

Question 5:

Is it essential that we create a separate community within the prison for those who are pursuing an educational program or can we integrate the benefits of the educational program into the rest of the society?

Response: Keith Whetstone

I don't know quite how to respond to that other than by noting that a lot of men don't self-select. They are not motivated to seek education for education's sake. A lot of men find their way to the UVic Program simply because it's a refuge from the prison environment. They are drawn into scholastics gradually and their motivations change progressively over a period of time. To my mind a separate community is an essential component. It's one that I know works well. The key thing to understand about prisoners is why they seek education. They seek education because they are looking for a better work location, or parole, or a transfer. Very few are highly motivated enough to seek education for its intrinsic value. They are alienated from society, so they're seeking social mobility.

Question 6:

What's the dynamic that goes on between people that are part of that learning community and inmates who are not part of that community?

Response: Keith Whetstone

The majority of inmates who are not part of that community tend to think it's a fraud. They think there's a rehab stigma, but not to the same degree in medium security as in maximum security institutions. On the other hand there's a lot of respect for any individual that pursues education over a long period of time. Program students are often elected to prisoner's committees and take on other duties throughout the prison, simply because of their improved communication skills. In fact, they act as advocates for the rest of the prison population. On the whole, education is quite highly thought of by the prisoners.

Response: Stephen Duguid

I'd like to respond to the communtiy question. There are at least two models. If you look at B.C. right now, what many people think of as the Matsqui program isn't going on at William Head. From talking to people who work there, the university program is all over the prison. It's everywhere, it's moving all over the place. It's not shut off from anybody, everybody is involved, walking through, and so on. It's not a self-contained little unit. So here's another implementation coming out of the UVic model - different institutions and a different set of dynamics. You've got to look at your institution and ask, what are the possibilities and how would I maximize the potential of this situation. I got involved in the community concept for two reasons: I wanted to attract some more bodies and I knew that if I made the place decent looking, more guys would come and enrol, and then I might hook them into staying. Then there was the political reason. I felt that you simply had to provide a forum in which some of these ideas could be put into practice. That meant for me in that space and time that I had to get away from the guards. I had to get away from somebody constantly watching everything I did and talked about. That meant I had to try and create a separate little cocoon. I always saw it as a temporary phenomenon that would not last forever. I knew that I would have to go on and move out of there eventually.

Response: Roby Kidd

This is almost a speculation, isn't it, if we had a prison in which the living arrangements and the educational provisions and the attitudes and behaviour of the guards and the visitors too were all coherent, we'd have better learning. Some of the recent experiments in the other countries are of that kind. There's one I've been told about in the U.S., there is one in Holland, there are some in China. It might be very interesting and we know from meeting with some long term prisoners that they'd like to design a new prison. They have accepted the fact they are going to be there and they'd like to set up the terms in which they would serve. They'd like to take the risks of trying to live in it. I don't think we'll have very many experiments early, but it might very interesting for the next time that something different is done. Let's say that the whole environment would be planned for education.

Question 7:

What is your feeling about vocational training, because vocational training takes up perhaps 50 per cent of the educational activities in the prison?

Response: Roby Kidd

I believe that we look at everything that a prison learner needs. Vocational training for some may be very important, just as athletics may be very important and much learning can come from that. Arts and crafts and music may be very important and a good deal of learning can come from them. The mix of it is important and depends on the people that are there and what their basic needs are. We perhaps have given less attention to vocational training in the last day and a half that we might have. In the past, it has usually received more attention than some of the subjects that we've been dealing with here, but I happen to believe we need to be concerned with it and with the other experiences as well.

Response: Stephen Duguid

I think that what would be ideal would be to provide the potential for linking academic and vocational training. I suspect there will always be some individuals who will only want or need vocational training and some who may only want or need academic training. But ideally, I would like to see a situation that Keith Whetstone referred to as the politechnic approach. I agree with Roby Kidd that athletics, music, and other cultural activities should be included in a mixture that would fit the needs of the prisoners at a particular institution.

Comment: Ted Swain

I would just like to add to what Stephen Duguid has said about using different approaches. The original intention at Matsqui was to have the program right in the middle of the prison, but we were told that that was completely unrealistic. The program was moved to the primeter of the prison. I think out of this came the idea of the alternative community, separate from the prison. I think also that at William Head we have been able to move into the centre of the prison and involve more people. I think you have to have a look at the people you are dealing with and the institution itself to determine the best approach.

Comment:

I'm troubled by the notion "the" educational model. If I say that I'm aiming at something, that doesn't tell anybody what I'm doing at all. It tells what I'm trying to do. It tells what my intention or aim is. If I say that I'm walking that is quite specific about what I'm actually doing. The notion of education is much more like aiming than it is like walking. It's a concept that essentially talks about what you are trying to do. And what you're trying to do if you are educating people is get them to understand what's going on. I think we have a remarkable example here, of a successful model. There are a number of ways of doing it, but what is essential is that the aim be the same. The aim is to understand, whether it's understanding physics or moral questions or whatever. Also, if you want people to understand the world around them you can't do it in five minute breaks. There are a few geniuses who can pick it up in a hurry. For fiscal, or institutional or other reasons you may have to do it part-time, but essentially it's a major undertaking to come to understand our world. Another notion of concern to me is the idea that the prisons are quite different places. There's no question they are physically. But the same issues come up about education anywhere. We are under pressure in every aspect of education to turn it into some sort of technology, to have people become engineers or plumbers of whatever. Now obviously we have to have technical training. However, we musn't sacrifice on the part of any citizen, whether they are in prison or anywhere else, the requirement that we get to understand what's going on. Otherwise we don't have the kind of society that we think we should have.

Question 8:

I happen to believe that the teacher is rather important in educational transactions. I therefore feel I must ask the rather sticky and indelicate question of whether there should be contract teachers or teachers directly employed by the correctional service. I would appreciate very much having each member of the panel address the question providing whatever evidence you have to support whatever conclusion you think you can reach.

Response: Roby Kidd

I think a great deal of what we are talking about is done by the guards, by coaches, by counsellors, and by inmates. Now having said that, let's make the best possible use of fine teachers. On the question of contract, it depends on what the situation is. I know that there are some situations in which contract teaching seems to be working very well. There are some kinds of instruction which seem possible, at the moment, only with people employed by the system. For example, we need both the man in vocational training who knows how to count the chisels at the end of the day, and is responsible for seeing they are all there for safety and a person like me who comes in, doesn't count chisels well, but might have some other role to play. We really have to look and see what is the best in each case and quite often it will be a mixture.

Response: Stephen Duguid

I'd like to look at the negative side or the disadvantages for a moment. The contract teacher is kind of a free spirit, sometimes not tied to the long term interests of the program. Maybe he or she comes in for one course while they're unemployed outside. There may not be the level of dedication. On the other hand you have a fresh face, so there are compensating factors. Institutional staff from my contact with them tended to, I don't want to use the word "institutionalize" in particular, but tended to be stuck in a kind of rut in one place for twenty years or so. I didn't feel as an outside observer that the service took enough care of them in the sense of providing opportunities for improving their skills or for getting them out of the prison environment for a year, let's say, by teaching in a public school. I think that the teacher that teaches in a prison environment day in and day out gets in a rut. I was there for six years, and frankly, I'd had it. I couldn't take that environment any more. I had to get another scene. I would like to see some system were prison teachers can teach somewhere else for a while to get another outlook on life before coming back.

Response: Keith Whetstone

I think I'd like a clearer definition of contract staff. If you mean university people versus correctional people that is a very important issue. I think that if a prisoner is coming to education for the first time in a penitentiary and is as alienated as most individuals that I've encountered, then it's not likely that he will pursue his education very far with a correctional system employee. It may not always be so, it may be different, given different normative structures in different institutions and vary with degree of security. Certainly, you have good teachers and you have bad teachers, the same as you have good human beings and bad human beings, but as long as prisoners see correctional people as keepers, whether as teachers or not, they are not going to be effective.

Comment: Douglas Ayers

I'd like to make a few observations about contract and civil service teachers. As a result of visiting a large number of prisons in Great Britain, the United States and Canada in 1974 and talking with hundreds of students and many teachers, I have concluded: "The Grade 2 teacher in Riverview School should not teach Grade 2 under the same principal for more than about three years in a row." All teachers become institutionalized, including university professors! The problem with employing civil service teachers is that it's difficult to change their assignments or to move them around. Theretore, I would recommend that contract teachers be used whenever possible.

Some of the questioners have wanted to know how to apply some of the principles or techniques of the UVic model in other situations. Some suggestions have been made already but I would like to add a comment. I believe that if you are going to operate a program that produces some of the effects of the UVic program, then it must use a humanities core. In other words, if you are working with a high school upgrading school group then you could use Canadian history or Canadian government or literature as the basis for discussion of social, political, and ethical issues. It does not have to be a moral issue, although as Stephen Duguid pointed out, in the prison situation if you start to discuss a social issue it tends to become an ethical or moral issue. There's no hidden agenda. We are using humanities in the traditional sense to try to develop a good citizen through providing a general education. If some of the prisoners develop morally, fine and good. I'm personally not convinced that moral change is required for managing in straight society. I think it is the thinking skills and some of the life skills which will allow prisoners to cope with society's institutions on release. Ian Wright's program develops thinking skills using moral issues. This may be allright too. I believe it's more efficient, less ego-threatening to use the humanities, but he may accomplish the same thing starting with moral issues. Life skills programs that attempt to develop thinking skills can be effective too. Part of the life skills program should include a 'psychology course' on human relations to develop interpersonal skills and communications skills. In a literacy program current events can be used to discuss issues. Thus, there are many ways in which the components of the UVic program can be adapted to various levels of education.

Après Foucault: le modèle éducatif

Lucien Morin

Il est des défis qui relèvent de l'ambition. Parce qu'ils n'appartiennent pas à l'ordre de l'essentiel, on peut s'y refuser ou s'en retirer la tête haute, sans lâcheté. Il en est d'autres, par contre, qui découlent de la loi de nécessité. Quiconque cherche à s'y dérober faillit à l'éthique du devoir - dans bien des cas, une éthique d'auto-conservation. Le thème qu'il m'a été demandé d'approfondir à ce colloque, "Après Foucault: le modèle éducatif", appartient, je crois, à cette dernière catégorie. En effet, aucune réforme de la justice pénale qui se veut sérieuse et en profondeur ne peut espérer dépasser le stade du déjà vu, de l'impasse entretenue en somme, sans tenir compte de la contribution inégalée de Michel Foucault. Car personne mieux que Foucault n'a réussi à démultiplier les "pourquoi" du pénal à partir de ses "comment", à décortiquer les enchevêtrements secrets des intentions punitives par l'analyse démystifiante de la pratique pénale, à voir dans le détail du geste punissant la dentelle de l'esprit punisseur.

Naturellement, il n'est pas possible dans un exposé rapide de rendre suffisamment compte d'une pensée aussi dense, aussi riche et qui jette un éclairage aussi révélateur sur la problématique qui nous occupe. En outre, la portée de mon sujet se veut davantage effort de prospective, je devrai me satisfaire de certaines conclusions, seulement, de Foucault et de montrer comment elles contribuent à la logique d'un argumentaire en faveur du modèle éducatif. Soyons précis: du modèle éducatif envisagé, comme issue privilégiée, pour ne point dire unique, à tout système pénitentiaire et à toute méta-logique du carcéral en tant que technologie du pouvoir de punir. D'où les deux parties de ma communication: Après Foucault et le modèle éducatif.

Après Foucault

Michel Foucault ne s'est jamais attardé au phénomène de l'éducation en prison sinon pour le décrire comme partie intégrée et indifférenciée de l'idéologie du carcéral et de la justice pénale c'est-à-dire, en tant que mécanisme de dressage, d'assujettissement et de normalisation, en tant que technique de contrôle, de qualification et de surveillance des individus, en tant que fonction de la prison. Bref, en tant qu'échec. Car "admettons que la loi soit destinée à définir des infractions, que l'appareil pénal ait pour fonction de les réduire et que la prison soit l'instrument de cette répression; alors il faut dresser un constat d'échec". Attention! L'échec, ce n'est pas encore celui d'une fonction éducative par la prison et qui constituerait l'antithèse malheureuse d'une utopique fonction éducative en prison. Ce n'est pas celui non plus de l'éducation en tant qu'elle survivrait à illustrer un des modes d'articulation et d'exécution du pénal. L'échec en cause, c'est bel et bien celui, radical, de la prison elle-même. La naissance de la prison c'est l'accouchement de l'impossible prison. Voyons de plus près.

Curieux phénomène, ne diriez-vous pas, que celui du maintien d'une chose dont on n'a jamais cessé de proclamer l'échec comme principe et comme destin! Et si la question devait être renversée ... En d'autres mots, pourquoi ne pas voir dans l'échec de la prison non pas un mal qui lui serait ajouté mais une autre facette, tout simplement, de son caractère, naturelle, logique, endogène? Mais nous sommes tous contre la prison, objecterez-vous. Plutôt, nous sommes tous d'accord pour être contre la prison. Car la prison est solution inévitable, un mal nécessaire a-t-on toujours enseigné. Et notre malaise demeure. Très certainement, c'est de la nécessité du mal, du mal nécessaire, qui ne cesse de gêner. On a beau voir dans la prison un implacable impératif social et fonctionnaliste, il est encore interdit de confier à la prison-mal, au mal-prison, un statut ontologique. Et l'interrogatoire inutile se poursuit: mais comment remplacer la prison? La seule alternative à la prison peut-elle être autre chose que la prison?

Voilà bien le drame! La prison n'enraye pas, ne corrige pas, ne prévient pas la criminalité: c'est la seule vérité à laquelle, depuis trente ans, tous les camps de criminologues accordent leur consensus. Mais alors, que fait la prison? Autre chose et plus que contenir, enfermer et empêcher. Entre autres, elle maintient, alimente et fabrique le criminogène, produit la délinquance et la récidive, nourrit violence et haine, accentue et légitimise les injustices, va jusqu'à écrire des biographies du crime avant le crime, et, pas l'astuce du casier judiciaire, prolonger bien longtemps après l'acquittement de la punition, l'ordonnance de la punition. Nous le savions tous, la prison ne se préoccupe plus d'infractions mais de différenciations, entendons de marquages, de classifications, de taxonomies. La prison est extension et outil de l'appareil pénal.

Ce n'est encore que la pointe de l'iceberg, car, soumettons-nous aux analyses de Foucault, une certaine pratique de la justice pénale a abouti à une dégénération, à une dénaturation de la justice qui, de pouvoir légal, est devenu pouvoir normatif. Ainsi la justice correctionnelle punit non seulement des actes d'agression mais des individus agressifs, non seulement des crimes de viol mais des individus pervertis, non seulement des meurtres, mais des pulsions et des désirs, des anomalies et des infirmités, des effets de milieu et d 'hérédité. Sous prétexte de punir un acte, la justice criminelle (sic!) s'ordonne de qualifier un individu. Par conséquent, elle a de plus en plus besoin de l'extra-judiciaire pour respecter la loi mais, avec le concours d'une expertise scientifique impressionnante, finit néanmoins par se réfugier derrière des "jugements de normalité, des assignations de causalité, des appréciations de changements éventuels, des anticipations sur l'avenir des délinquants". Par surcroît, l'armature de la justice pénale, dans la mesure où s'est diffusé ce même pouvoir normalisateur, a multiplié son champ d'application. Tout l'appareil qui s'est développé depuis des années autour de l'application des peines, et de leur ajustement aux individus, démultiplie les instances de décision judiciaire et prolonge celle-ci bien au-delà de la sentence. C'est ainsi qu'apparaissent de petites justices et des juges parallèles tout autour du jugement principal; experts psychiatres, psychologues, sociologues, crimonologues; gardiens de l'application des peines; éducateurs correctionnels; fonctionnaires de l'administration pénitentiaire, etc.

Dans pareil contexte, il est normal que l'éducation pénitentiaire apparaisse comme naturalisation et légitimation a posteriori du pouvoir punir. Jusqu'à ce jour, d'ailleurs, l'éducation pénitentiaire a été pensée comme moyen pour faire fonctionner la prison, comme une instance parmi d'autres dans l'irruption des multiples outillages de la technologie carcérale. C'est aussi ce qui explique pourquoi vouloir parler d'une pratique de l'éducation pénitentiaire revient, dans les faits, à parler d'une pratique du carcéral, tout simplement.

Même courts, ces quelques emprunts à la thèse de Foucault suffisent pour éclairer notre argument. Tout d'abord, il est évident que l'histoire des prisons, en tant que partie intégrante de l'histoire des civilisations, est mémoire et rappel de la justice humaine, de son façonnement et de ses profils multiples, de ses aspirations irréalisables et de ses ajustements obligés. En particulier, elle fait voir comment toute justice - appelons-la distributive, curative, expiatoire, peu importe - est justice rétributive, justice pénale. Mais ce que ne dit pas Foucault, c'est que cette métamorphose de la justice n'est pas le seul jeu d'une pratique ou des méandres de l'application des peines, une économie du pouvoir. Dit autrement, ce n'est pas seulement au creux de sa logique de fonctionnement que se constitue la rationalisation d'une justice impuissante et contradictoire. C'est dans son origine. Ici, l'anthropologie fondamentale s'ajoute et complète la perspective du structuraliste tout en poussant plus avant l'argument d'une justice défaillante par nature. En prolongeant Foucault, l'anthropologie fait voir non seulement l'impasse du carcéral mais les limites de toute justice à prétention correctionnelle.

Ce qui est premier et fondateur dans toute civilisation ce n'est pas la paix mais la violence. Et le système judiciaire répond à un besoin primaire de protection et se justifie d'abord comme mécanisme de prévention, comme force de négation pourrait-on dire, en aidant les hommes à tenir la vengeance en respect. Insistons. Avant d'y voir une signification métaphysique ou morale, un signe de maturité politique, éloge d'équité, d'égalité et de respect des droits, la découverte du système judiciaire apparaît comme la conclusion logique d'une entreprise de survie. La justice ne symbolise donc pas le mérite et l'excellence. C'est parce qu'il est perdant devant sa propre violence que l'homme est acculé à la justice. La justice est toujours prix de consolation, promotion forcée. Elle empêche que les hommes s'abandonnent à la vengeance privée et prennent la loi entre leurs propres mains c'est-à-dire, s'entretuent jusqu'à l'extermination.

Ce qui ne signifie pas que la violence soit supprimée pour autant. Le système judiciaire, Foucault a vu juste, ne radie pas la violence, ne la supprime jamais une fois pour toutes. En tant que réplique et représaille à la violence, il s'inscrit dans l'ordre symétrique de la vengeance, aussi légale, légitime et pure soit-elle. Ainsi, il peut obliger à telle activité, à telle conduite, à tel comportement, mais il ne peut pas ordonner au bien. Aucune force coercitive, fondée dans la justice, ne peut être productrice de bonté intérieure. Le prétendre est une illusion, le vouloir, un voeu impossible. Paradoxalement, la justice ne vise pas la paix, l'ordre, l'équilibre mais la non-violence. Le témoignage de Charles Lucas, à cet égard, représente la vision classique. L'homme de bien, dit-il, l'homme moralement bon ne peut être un produit des règlements du Code car "dans l'ordre social, la vertu ne peut entrer dans les exigences de la loi, puisqu'elle n'appartient pas à ses commandements". Simplement, de la prison doit émerger "un citoyen qui s'abstient du mal" (De la réforme des prisons ou de la théorie de l'emprisonnement (éd. 1936). Il diffère peu des lois pénales d'aujourd'hui qui semblent tenir compte de l'empêchement "naturel" de la justice, du moins inconsciemment, en établissent comme finalité à la réhabilitation correctionnelle non pas de convertir le criminel en bon citoyen, en bonne personne mais de rendre un individu capable de s'abstenir d'enfreindre le code. Le commandement de justice en cela seul qu'il commande reste une commandite d'indigence et de privation. Il ne suffit plus donc de ramener la violence judiciaire à un mal nécessaire c'est-à-dire, à un problème presque banal de morale (qui aime bien châtie bien) ou d'épistémologie (la vérité suppose la nécessité de l'erreur). L'explication catagénétique, ici, sert peut-être l'impuissance et la frustration; elle n'est pas solution.

En outre, s'ils surgissent comme procédés assurant une efficacité accrue, les dispositifs du système judiciaire sont marqués à vie du signe de la violence. "Les procédés qui permettent aux hommes de modérer leur violence sont tous analogues, en ceci qu'aucun d'eux n'est étranger à la violence". Juger, c'est déjà punir, comme le fait voir l'antériorité de la justice rétributive sur la justice distributive chez l'enfant. L'infiltration du rationalisme étiologique, cet apanage permanent de la crimonologie contemporaine, dans l'administration de la justice jette un éclairage particulier sur la violence comme logique du système judiciaire. De l'enquête préliminaire, chargée de la cueillette des premiers faits garantissant la validité des soupçons et conduisant linéairement à l'accusation et au verdict de culpabilité; des curiosités illimitées du juge, protégées par les vérités des spécialistes des circonstances judiciaires - psychiatres, psychologues, médecins, sociologues, etc. - préoccupées autant par la qualification d'un individu que par la condamnation d'un acte, enfouies dans l'exégèse généalogique d'une vie passée pour mieux comprendre son état actuel; des plaidoiries d'usage, à la sentence, à l'exécution de la peine; bref, une véritable panoplie de permissions accompagnent, comme pour mieux la justifier, l'exercice de la justice. "Si notre système nous paraît plus rationnel c'est, en vérité, parce qu'il est plus strictement conforme au principe de vengeance. L'insistance sur le châtiment du coupable n'a pas d'autre sens". La violence colle à la justice avec l'appétit et la patience d'un cancer.

Bref les confusions profuses à propos du rôle et de la place du carcéral dans nos sociétés découlent, certes, de la logique même de l'institution et de ses objectifs contradictoires, en passant de son impératif quasiment intouchable de rétribution à son impossible gageure réformatrice et réhabilitatrice. Elle s'enfoncent plus profondément encore au coeur même du pouvoir judiciaire qui n'est, en réalité, que pouvoir d'empêchement et de contrainte, mesure permanente d'étouffement calculé, mouvement asymptotique d'écarts et d'équilibres parfaits c'est-à-dire impraticables. Le système judiciaire n'est pas de lui-même régénérateur, souffle, comme dire, porteur de vie. Bergson a bien vu dans l'histoire ascendante de l'humanité, dans son passage du clos à l'ouvert, des bonds en avant qui dépendent des créateurs de justice. Et Durkheim de lui donner raison en affirmant que les consciences nobles qu'opposent les opinions à la mode lors d'un conflit moral vont plus créativement aux vérités profondes.

Mais la justice créatrice n'invente qu'à partir de l'indignation, qu'en tant qu'imagination contre l'injustice. S'il ouvre le champ des possibles et agrandit le cercle de la sécurité collective, le système judiciaire n'en appartient pas moins à un système fermé, celui de la conservation. Tout au plus lui arrive-t-il de remplir avec une efficacité chancelante sa fonction de maintenance. Il a besoin, simplement pour être, d'un "oxygène" artificiel qui ne se confond pas avec lui mais sans lequel pourtant il périrait, dit Jankélévitch. Aussi, en révélant quelques-unes des limites intrinsèques à l'appareil judiciaire contre lequel viennent se greffer d'une manière ou d'une autre les conceptions modernes du carcéral avec leurs annexes ascétiques et aseptiques - punition, surveillance, correction, normalisation, réhabilitation, thérapie, etc. - nous visons un but précis: montrer la futilité d'un projet d'éducation pénitentiaire vissé aux projections du judiciaire.

De plus, il y a pour l'éducation pénitentiaire, conçue dans le sillon des influences de l'ère post-Foucault, une grande leçon à tirer. L'éducation en prison ne peut être abordée sans tenir compte de l'épistémologie du judiciaire. Et insister pour analyser ou pour proposer une éducation en milieu carcéral en tant que phénomène isolé conduit inévitablement à l'échec. C'est ce qui explique peut-être la sécheresse de données sur l'histoire et le sens de l'éducation en prison. Car l'éducation pénitentiaire n'est pas seulement une partie d'un tout, la sous-structure d'une réalité beaucoup plus vaste et englobante; l'éducation pénitentiaire ne s'explique, ne se comprend, ne se justifie que dans, par et à travers son lieu complexe d'appartenance. Pour entreprendre le discours éducatif en milieu carcéral, on s'est trop attardé à lire dans la narration de la genèse et de la morphologie des institutions, dans la description étiologique du criminogène et dans la prescription des thérapies curatives, leur caractère symbolique et représentatif. Or, une idée claire du système judiciaire et de son corollaire, le système pénal, non seulement en tant que symboles mais en tant que fonctions réelles d'une société, paraît indispensable à tout projet d'éducation en milieu carcéral.

Bref, le registre du juridique présente une gamme variée et complexe de possibilités, mais comme il est constitué de la même étoffe contre laquelle il est dressé, il reste en système fermé. Il faut sortir de la justice pour la dépasser et faire appel à autre chose que le système juridique pour réaliser l'ouverture nécessaire.

Le modèle éducatif

L'expression est voulue au sens fort et strict des mots. L'un et l'autre terme comporte une référence première à l'Autre - modèle, entendons, repère, désignation; éducatif, entendons, signe de partage et de don. L'homme ne naît pas au monde, mais au monde du signe humain. Tel est son premier monde, écrit Alain, non pas monde de choses mais monde humain, monde de signes, d'où sa frêle existence dépend. En d'autres mots, la promotion humaine découle de la ressemblance humaine, car naître au signe de l'autre, c'est naître à l'autre, par l'autre, à travers l'autre. C'est la relation initiale avec son semblable qui fait l'homme; par elle il devient et se devient.

Cette constatation semble peu révolutionnaire, répliquerez-vous, paraît même presque banale. Soit! Mais acceptez, je vous y invite, de suivre un argument dépouillé des préjugés qu'on lui connaît. Acceptez de considérer dans la formule, "le modèle éducatif", l'impératif du modèle à imiter. Car, et c'est le point de vue que je veux déployer et défendre devant vous, c'est à partir d'une compréhension du mécanisme mimétique - plutôt que dans l'armature pénale ou dans l'étiologie criminologique ou dans les projets curatifs - que l'éducation en prison trouvera sa signification première, tant au niveau du symbole qu'au niveau de son efficacité opérationnelle.

Commençons par nous accorder mutuellement un consensus autour de l'énorme difficulté de ma proposition. Mimésis, comme dirait Valéry, est un de ces détestables mots qui ont plus de valeur que de sens. Par exemple, s'il ne se laisse pas facilement traduire par imitation, reproduction, simulacre, analogie, copie, ressemblance miroir, idée, icône, identification, masque, double, etc., il y est pourtant impliqué dans chacune de leurs impositions sémantiques. De l'autre côté de la médaille, il ne faut pas négliger ses relations avec originalité, production, authenticité, etc. Plus profondément encore, les difficultés s'accroissent lorsque apparaît la question de ce qui est premier, fondateur, antérieur. Par exemple, qu'est-ce qui est premier, imitation ou production, reproduction ou création, représentation ou image, signe ou signification? Parole de Hölderlin: "Oui! c'est un être divin que l'enfant, aussi longtemps qu'il n'a pas pris la couleur caméléon des hommes". Pour accentuer, un rappel de Kant: "Apprendre ce n'est rien d'autre qu'imiter" (Critique de la faculté de juger). Sauf pour le génie poétique, bien sûr, et pourtant, le génie, dans l'essence même de son originalité, doit faire appel à une certaine imitation - une imitation libre de la liberté divine, peut-être, mais imitation tout autant. Un dernier exemple: Socrate qui, au Livre X de la République, déclare sans détours que la seule façon d'assurer la fondation de l'Etat et du système politique consiste d'abord en l'expulsion de la mimésis. Et personne n'a encore parlé d'ontologie, d'épistémologie, de morale. En faut-il davantage pour convaincre?

Pour le besoin de la discussion seulement, je vous demande donc, sans plus, de suivre l'hypothèse du mimétique. Brièvement, pour son acquisition d'être et de devenir, l'homme, comme l'animal, est foncièrement imitateur. "Si les hommes, tout à coup, cessaient d'imiter, toutes les formes culturelles s'évanouiraient", nous apprend René Girard. Le comportement mimétique ne se limite pas à l'acquisition et à l'appropriation; il débouche immanquablement sur le conflit, sur la rivalité. Devant un même objet, deux êtres mimétiques essaient de se l'arracher l'un à l'autre parce qu'ils se le désignent l'un et l'autre comme désirable. Entre réciprocité et mimétisme, réciprocité de rivalité et réciprocité de violence il y a identité de sens. Ce qui étonne encore, c'est l'implacable symétrie du mécanisme mimétique. Chacun imite l'autre imitant l'autre au point où chacun se produit comme un simulacre, un double parfaitement orchestré à la réplique de l'autre.

Il n'en faut guère davantage pour saisir de suite l'implication de pareille hypothèse en éducation. Si chacun est signe, modèle, idole de l'autre, il est en même temps miroir, double, rival. Nous l'avons déjà un peu su; nous l'avons surtout un peu beaucoup oublié. Sauf, entre autres, dans le monde de l'éducation pénitentiaire. Comme le temps nous presse, je me contenterai d'un seul exemple et terminerai mon exposé là-dessus. Je veux parler de la différence, du problème de la différence.

D'emblée, et sans nuances, nous affirmons que la mimésis n'existerait pas, ne pourrait exister sans la différence. "Là où la différence fait défaut, écrit Girard, c'est la violence qui menace". Dans la perspective du système judiciaire, les perturbations sociales apparaissent immanquablement comme des questions de différences à régler ou à réglementer. En effet, le criminel par exemple - comme, à leur manière, l'enfant inadapté ou le déficient mental - représente une menace intolérable à la logique stabilisatrice des jeux de différence. Non pas en tant que différence pure qui est, elle, principe et structure de contrôle des besoins primaires, mais en tant que différence non conforme, marginale, interdite. C'est clair: parce qu'il annonce la perte absolue des différences, le crime constitute la menace extrême pour l'humanité, révélant ainsi la vraie nature de l'Autre - un ennemi à abattre. Voilà pourquoi dans la logique du mimétisme, dans la dialectique existentielle avec l'autre le crime revêt une si grande signification: il risque de devenir à tout moment modèle à imiter. Insistons toujours. Comme l'homme voit son existence à travers l'autre, comme il cherche dans la coexistence avec l'autre le repère de sa propre identité, il est facile d'imaginer l'angoisse créée par l'interposition du crime comme modèle à imiter. Dans un face-à-face symétrique sans faille et sans bavure, chacun se voit obligé de vivre pour l'autre le rôle de l'idole et du rival dans la dépossession progressive, chacun se réalise en devenant le complice de sa propre désagrégation. Pour la suite, la justification de l'éducation correctionnelle s'explique sans ambiguïté possible en tant que philosophie de la différence "bonne" à retrouver et à rétablir.

Concrètement, cela signifie que dans l'univers des différences mimétiques, il est au moins deux possibilités de modèles éducatifs: l'une qui ne retient de la différence que l'écart et l'anomalie, la déficience et la déviance contradictoire. Le modèle ici est forcément négatif et l'éducation justificatrice. L'autre qui entrevoit dans la différence enrichissement et partage, mutualité et rapprochement. Le modèle ici est positif et l'éducation, réconciliatrice.

Jusqu'à ce jour, le modèle de l'éducation pénitentiaire a toujours été celui de la différence à condamner, corriger ou remplacer, de la différence lacunaire à réinstaller dans l'univers du normatif légitime et acceptable. J'appellerai cette pédagogie une éducation de justification car elle avance par besoin de preuve et de démonstration ou une éducation de compensation car elle s'établit dans le manque et la convoitise. Il y aurait un curieux rapprochement à établir entre l'éducation justificatrice du pénitentiaire et la notion d'eros chez Platon, qui s'oppose à l'agapê du christianisme, et la notion de l'unique chez Max Stirner, qui s'oppose à celle de l'individu chez Kierkegaard. Les trois ont en commun la conscience d'être privé de quelque chose et l'idée de transformer cet état de privation en un état de rattrapage égocentrique. Au point où tout se ramène au désir de posséder c'est-à-dire, au moi et à son destin. L'éducation justificatrice est donc obligatoirement conquête et compétition, tout le contraire de l'éducation gratuite, spontanée, non motivée - qui serait la pédagogie réconciliatrice par excellence. C'était jadis la conception platonicienne. Il n'y a pas d'amitié, disait Platon, là où il n'y a pas de désir. Le but de l'amitié est d'acquérir quelque chose de bon pour soi. Or chacun désire ce ont il est privé mais qui lui est nécessaire c'est-à-dire, qui lui revient en propre.

Il y a plus. L'éducation justificatrice ne peut être le modèle à imiter car elle a choisi comme ordre du salut et de la rédemption, celui de la correction et de la réhabilitation, entendons, celui du renoncement et du refus. Rappelons-nous, l'éducation correctionnelle est d'abord et premièrement volonté d'anti-mal, de la différence négative, illégale, illégitime. Or vouloir chasser le mal suppose en tout premier lieu qu'on s'en occupe, qu'on le recherche et l'identifie, tende vers lui et se penche sur lui, même si c'est pour lutter contre lui, le bannir et le chasser. On ne peut contourner les faits: l'entreprise correctionnelle passe par le discours qui nomme et qui dit, qui stigmatise la réalité en quelque sorte - la fonde et l'établit.

Bref, en s'introduisant dans l'existence par le biais de la fuite et de l'encouragement à l'opposition, l'éducation justificatrice se décline à l'indicatif du moins ou, plus exactement, à celui de l'amoindrissement - sorte de péché d'omission au rayonnement exponentiel. Certes, l'éducation justificatrice a ses mérites, son efficacité surtout. Par elle, un être peut se faire auteur, s'éprouver en possibilité, en naissance, en structure et en cohésion - ce que ne lui permet pas la discipline coercitive, imposée. Mais on n'apprend rien d'autre, rien de l'autre de cette façon, rien de cet Autre qui est le viatique de la vie. On peut apprendre le monde, de l'intérieur, en son état d'objet, mais par l'éducation justificatrice on n'apprend pas son état de sujet, on n'apprend pas comment l'homme dit "Je" c'est-à-dire, on n'apprend pas la mutualité, comment l'homme dit "Tu". Comme dirait Martin Buber, l'expérience de ce qui fait dire Tu, ce n'est pas l'instinct justificatoire qui nous y conduit, c'est l'instinct des attaches - l'instinct de la réconciliation à imiter.

En résumé, par ce qu'il décrit et démontre, Michel Foucault établit la logique absurde et sans issue de la prison et de tous les apanages de la justice pénale; par ce qu'il ne dit pas, laisse entendre que la solution au carcéral loge à l'extérieur de l'idéologie judiciaire. L'anthropologie fournit une piste porteuse d'avenir par le biais de l'hypothèse mimétique. Et l'éducation pénitentiaire l'a presque compris à travers l'exploitation de son modèle justificatoire. Il ne lui reste qu'un pas de plus à faire pour découvrir le modèle de l'éducation réconciliatrice - celui où la pédagogie qui domine n'est pas celle qui exige mais celle qui donne.

SOURCES

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AFTER FOUCAULT: THE EDUCATIVE MODEL

Lucien Morin

(Translated from the original French)

INTRODUCTION

There are challenges in this world that are closely linked to ambition. Because they are not essential, they can be refused without any loss of face, with no appearance of cowardice. There are others, however, that are related to the law of necessity, and anyone attempting to avoid them is failing the ethic of duty. The theme that I have been asked to go into at this conference, "After Foucault: the educative model" belongs, I feel, to the latter category. In fact, no penal justice reform worth its salt, one claiming to be serious and in-depth, can hope to go beyond the "deja vu" stage, beyond total impasse, unless it gives consideration to the unequalled contribution of Michel Foucault. No one, indeed, has succeeded better than he in understanding the multiple "why's" of the penal practice through the analysis of its "how's", in unravelling the secret tangled knots of punitive intentions, through the demystification of the penal practice, in seeing beyond the detail of the punishing act the motivations of the punishing mind.

It is not, of course, possible in a quick overview to do appropriate justice to a thought that is so dense, so rich and so enlightening on the problem of concern to us. Since my intent in approaching the subject is more in the prospective vein, I shall have to settle for only a few of Foucault's conclusions, showing how they contribute to the logic of the argument in favour of the educative model. To be precise, the educative model is the only true answer to the penitentiary system and to the logic of the prison as the power to punish. Thus the two components of my address: After Foucault and the educative model.

AFTER FOUCAULT

Michel Foucault has never touched upon the phenomenon of education in prison except to describe it as an integrated and indifferentiated part of the prison ideology, and of penal justice, that is to say as a mechanism of training, of subjugation, of normalization; as a technique of control, of qualification, of supervision of individuals; as a function of prison. In short, as a failure. As he tells us: "let us admit that the law is destined to define offences, that the penal apparatus is designed to reduce them and that the prison is the instrument of that repression; we must therefore bring down a verdict of failure". Take care! The failure is not that of an educative function by the prison, which would constitute the unfortunate antithesis of a utopic education in prison. Nor is it the failure of education as it would serve to illustrate one of the modes by which the penal system is articulated and executed. The failure in question is, purely and simply, the failure of prison itself. The birth of the prison is the delivery of the impossible prison. Let us examine this more closely.

Wouldn't you say that is a curious phenomenon to maintain something that one has never ceased proclaiming as a failure, both as principle and as destiny? What if we reverse the question? In other words, why not see in the failure of prison not an ill to be added to it, but rather another facet, quite simply, of its natural character, its logical, endogenous character? But we are all against prison, you will object. Rather, we are all in agreement to be against prisons. Since prison is an inevitable solution, a necessary evil - so we have always been taught. And our malaise remains with us. Very certainly, it is the necessity of evil, of necessary evil, which is a constant embarrassment. It is all very fine to see prison as an implacable social and functionalist imperative, but it is still forbidden to confer to this prison - which is evil - this evil-which-is-prison, an ontological status. The pointless debate still goes on: how can we replace the prison? Can the only alternative to prison be anything other than prison?

Therein lies the dramatic point! Prison does not eradicate, correct, prevent criminality. This is the only truth on which all camps of criminologists have agreed in the past thirty years. But what, then, does prison do? For sure, more than merely to contain, shut away, prevent. As well, it maintains, nourishes and manufactures criminality, produces delinquency and recidivism, nourishes violence and hate, accentuates and ligitimizes injustices, goes so far as to write biographies of crime before the crime and through the wile of the criminal record system, to prolong long after the serving of the sentence, the order of punishment. We all are aware of this: prison is no longer concerned with offences but with differentiations, labelling, classification, taxonomy. Prison is an extension and a tool of the penal system.

This is only the tip of the iceberg, because, if we submit ourselves to Foucault's analyses, a certain practice of penal justice has led to a degeneration, a denaturing of justice, which has been transformed from a legal power to a normative one. Correctional justice punishes not only acts of agression, but also agressive individuals, not only crimes of rape, but perverted individuals, not only murders, but impulses and desires, anomolies and infirmities, effects of the environment and of heredity. Under the pretext of punishing an act, "criminal justice" (sic!) assigns itself the task of qualifying the individual. Consequently, it has increasing need of the extra-judiciary to respect the law, but with the assistance of an impressive scientific expertise, still ends up taking refuge behind "judgments of normality, assignments of causality, evaluations of possible change, anticipation of the future of delinquants". What is more, that armature of penal justice has multiplied its field of application as this normalizing power has become disseminated. The entire apparatus that has developed over the years around the application of sentences, and their tailoring to the individual, has decreased the instances of judicial decision and prolonged that decision far beyond the sentence. Thus there have appeared petty justices and parallel judges all around the principal judgment: psychiatric experts, psychologists, sociologists, criminologists, guards involved in the application of the sentence, correctional educators, civil servants in the penitentiary administration and so on.

In such a context, it is normal for penitentiary education to appear as the a posteriori naturalization and legitimization of the power to punish. Today, moreover, penitentiary education has especially been seen as a means to make prison function, as one instance among others in the plethora of tools of carceral technology. This is also the explanation of why speaking of a practice of penitentiary education comes down to, in actual fact, speaking of a practice of incarceration pure and simply.

Even these few short borrowings from Foucault's thesis are sufficient to clarify our argument. To begin with, it is obvious that the history of prisons, as an integral part of the history of civilizations, is a reminder of human justice, its shape and its multiple profiles, its unrealizable aspirations and its forced adjustments. In particular it indicates how any justice - call it distributive, curative, expiative, cummutative, it makes little difference - is retributive justice, penal justice. But what Foucault does not say, is that this metamorphosis of justice is not the only component of a practice with a complicated network of application of penalities, an economy of power. In other words, it is not only in the logic of its functioning that rationalization of an impotent and contradictory justice is constituted; it is also in its origin. Thus basic anthropology adds to, and compliments, the perspective of the structuralist, while advancing still further the argument of a justice that is defective by its very nature. By extending Foucault, anthropology indicates not only the impasse of the prison setting, but also the limitations of any justice with correctional pretentions.

Anthropology has demonstrated that what comes first, what is "foundational" to any civilization is not peace but violence. In this respect, the discovery of the judiciary system meets a very basic and primitive need of protection and finds its first justification as a mechanism of prevention, as a force of negation one might say, by helping man respect vengeance. Let us stress that point. Before seeing any metaphysical or moral significance, any sign of political maturity, any hommage to equity, equality and respect to rights, the discovery of the judicial system seems the logical conclusion of an undertaking for survival. Justice does not therefore symbolize merit and excellence. It is because he is a loser to his own violence that man has turned to justice. Justice is always the consolation prize, a forced promotion. It prevents men from abandoning themselves to private vengeance and taking the law into their own hands, or in other words exterminating each other until no one is left.

This does not mean that violence has been suppressed, however. The judicial system, as Foucault rightly stated, does not eradicate violence, does not suppress it once and for all. As a reply and reprisal to violence, it fits within the symmetrical order of vengeance, no matter how legal, legitimate and pure it may be. The system can oblige this or that activity, this or that conduct, this or that behaviour. But it cannot order or command goodness. No coercive force with its foundations in justice, can produce any interior goodness of heart. To claim that this is so is an illusion, to wish it an impossible dream. Paradoxically, justice does not call for peace, order and equilibrium, but non-violence. The work of Charles Lucas in this respect represents the classical vision. The man of good, he tells us, the man morally upright, cannot be a product of the regulations of the Code, because in the social order virtue cannot enter into the requirements of the law, because it is not part of its commandments. Simply, prison will release a "citizen who abstains from evil" (1836 edition of his work on Prison reform and the theory of imprisonment). This is very little different from the penal laws of today, which seem to take into account the "natural" prevention of justice, at least unconsciously, by establishing as the final goal of rehabilitation not to convert the criminal into a good citizen, a good person, but to make him into an individual capable of not breaking the law. The commandment of justice per se remains a supporter of indigence and privation. It is not sufficient any longer to reduce judicial violence to a necessary evil, i.e. an almost every day problem of morality (punishment is part of caring) or of epistemology (truth assumes the necessity of error). The catagenetic explanation here serves perhaps the powerlessness and frustration, it is not a solution.

As well, if procedures are developed to ensure increased efficiency, the processes of the judiciary system are marked for life with the sign of violence. "Procedures that allow man to moderate their violence are all alike, in that none is a stranger to violence". To judge is already to punish, as can be seen from the precedence of retributive justice over distributive justice in the child. The infiltration of etiological rationalism, this permanent attribute of contemporary criminology, in the administration of justice throws a particular light on violence as the logic of the judicial system. From the preliminary investigation involved in the gathering of facts to guarantee the validity of suspicions, leading linearly to the accusation and verdict of guilt, the unlimited curiosity of the judge, protected by the truth of the specialists in judicial circumstances, the psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians, sociologists etc. - preoccupied as much by the qualification of an individual as by the condemnation of an act, fixed on the genealogical exegesis of a past life in order to better understand the present situation, the counsel's pleas, the sentence, the execution of the penality; in short a broad spectrum of "permissions" accompany the carrying out of justice, in order to justify it more. "If our system seems more rational it is, in truth, because it conforms more strictly to the principle of vengeance. Stress on the punishment of the guilty has no other meaning". Violence grows on justice like a cancer, with the appetite and patience of a cancer.

In short, the many confusions concerning the role and the place of the prison environment in our societies are certainly related to the very logic of the institution and of its contradictory objectives, running the gamut from its virtually inviolate imperative of retribution to its impossible gamble at reform and rehabilitation. They are all the more deeply at the very core of the judiciary power, which is in reality nothing more than a power of prevention and constraint, a permanent measure of calculated suffocation, an asymptotic movement of deviations and balances that are "perfect", that is to say impracticable. The judiciary system is not of itself the generator, the breath of life, as we might say. Bergson saw clearly in the ascendant history of humanity in its passage from the closed to the open, forward steps that depend on the creators of justice. Durkheim, in turn, supported him by stating that the noble consciences opposed to the "fashionable" opinions in a moral conflict are more creatively suited to profound truth.

But creative justice is inventive only when based on indignation, as imagination against injustice. If it opens the way for possibilities, and widens the circle of collective security, the judiciary system belongs nonetheless to a closed system, the system of conservation. At the most it manages to succeed in meeting its maintenance duty with a quavering efficiency. It needs, simply to exist, an artificial "oxygen" which does not mix with it but without which it would perish, according to Jankélévitch. Thus, by indicating some of the intrinsic limitations of the judiciary system upon which, in one way or another, are grafted the modern concepts of the carceral setting, with their ascetic and aseptic appendices: punishment, surveillance, correction, normalization, rehabilitation, therapy and so on - we have a precise goal in mind: to show the futility of a project of penitentiary education attached to the projections of the judiciary.

In addition, there is an important lesson to be learned for penitentiary education conceived in the wake of the influences of the post-Foucault era. Education in prison cannot be undertaken unless the epistemology of the judiciary is taken into account. To insist on analysing or proposing education in the prison environment as an isolated phenomenon leads inevitably to failure. This is perhaps what explains the lack of understanding by historians, of the sense of education in prison. Education in prison is not only one part of a whole, the sub-structure of a reality that is much vaster and all-encompassing; penitentiary education cannot be explained, understood, justified except through and throughout its complex "lieu". To undertake an educative discourse in the prison setting, we have wasted too much time with the genesis and morphology of institutions, with etiological description of the criminogenous, and with the prescription of curative therapies, their symbolic and representative character. A clear idea of the judiciary system, and its corrolary the penal system, not only as symbols but also as real functions of a society, seems indispensable to any project on education within the prison setting.

In short, the register of the judicial presents a varied and complex spectrum of possibilities but since it is constituted of the same stuff against which it is directed, it remains within a closed system. It is necessary to go beyond justice to exceed it and to call upon something other than the judicial system to accomplish the openness that is necessary.

THE EDUCATIVE MODEL

The expression is deliberately taken in the strong and strict sense of the words. Both components of it involve a primary reference to the Other - by model we understand point of reference, designation; by educative we understand sign of sharing and of giving. Man is not born into the world but into the world of the human condition. As Alain writes his first world is not a world of things, but a human world, a world of signs upon which his frail existence depends. In other words, human promotion is related to human resemblance, since to be born under the sign of the other is to be born into the other, by the other, through the other. It is this initial relationsip with the Other that makes the man; by it he becomes, and becomes himself.

This statement seems a little revolutionary you will say - seems even almost banal! So be it. But accept, I invite you, to follow an argument devoid of the prejudices we attribute to it. Agree to consider within the formula "educative model" the imperative of the model to be imitated. For this is the point of view that I wish to deploy and define before you - it is based on an understanding of the mechanism of mimetism more than in the penal armature or the etiology of criminality or in a curative projects that education in prison will find its primary significance, both as a symbol and on the level of its operational efficiency.

Let us begin by mutually reaching agreement around the enormous difficulty of my proposition. Mimesis, as Valéry tells us, is one of those detestable words that have more value than meaning. For example, if it is not easily translated by imitation, reproduction, similarity, analogy, copy, resemblance, mirror, idea, ikon, identification, mask, double, etc., it is, however, involved in each of their semantic impositions.

On the other side of the coin, we must not neglect its relationship with originality, production, authenticity, etc. More profoundly still, the difficulties increase when the question arises as to what is primary, basic, anterior. For example, which is first, imitation or production, reproduction or creation, representation or image, sign or significance? According to Hölderlin, "the child is a divine being, until he takes on the chameleon-like character of men". To accentuate this, let us refer to Kant: "To learn is nothing more than to imitate" (Critique of Practical Reason). With the exception of poetic genius of course, but still genius in the very essence of its originality must call upon a certain imitation - a free imitation, free of divine freedom perhaps, but imitation nonetheless. A final example - Socrates in book X of the Republic tells us straightforwardly that the only way to ensure the foundation of the state and of the political system is to first eradicate mimesis. And we have not yet spoken of ontology, epistemiology, morals. Do I need say more to be convincing?

For the purposes of discussion only, I would therefore ask you simply to follow the "mimesis" hypothesis for a moment.

In short, for his acquisition of being and becoming man like the animal, is basically imitative. As René Girard tells us, "if men ceased suddenly to imitate, all cultural forms would disappear". The mimetic behaviour is not limited to acquisition and appropriation; it leads unfailingly to conflict and rivalry to violence, in other words. Faced with the same object, two mimetic beings seek to take it one from the other, because each designates it to the other as desirable. Between reciprocity and mimetism, reciprocity of rivalry and reciprocity of violence, there is an identity of meaning. Since he seeks in co-existnece with the other the points of reference of his own identity, it is easy to imagine the anguish created by the reality of crime, of crime as a model to be imitated. In a symmetrical face to face without fault and without bravura, each sees himself obliged to live for the other role of idol, and of the rival in a progressive depossession, each realizes himself in becoming the accomplice of his own disintegration. For the rest, justification of correctional education is explainable without ambiguity as a philosophy of the "right" difference to be re-found and re-established.

Concretely, this means that in the universe of mimetic differences, there are at least two possibilities of educative models; one involves only the deviation and the anomoly, the deficiency and the contradictory deviance of the difference. The other sees in the difference enrichment and sharing, mutuality and rapprochement. The model here is positive and the education reconciliatory.

To date, the model for penitentiary education has always been that of the difference to be condemned, corrected, or replaced, the lack that is to be reconstituted into the normative, legitimate and acceptable universe. I shall call that pedagogy an education of justification, since it advances by need of proof and demonstration, or an education of compensation, since it is anchored in lack and in covetousness. There would appear to be a curious similarity to be established between the justificative education of the penitentiary and the notion of eros in Plato, as opposed to the agapé of Christianity, and the notion of the unique in Max Stirner, which is opposed to the notion of the individual in Kierkegaard. The three have in common the awareness of being deprived of something and the idea of transforming that condition into a state of egocentric restitution. To the extent that all lead to the desire to possess, that is to the self and its destiny. Justificative education is therefore obligatorily conquest and competition, quite the contrary of gratuitous, spontaneous, non-motivated education - which would be reconcilatory pedagogy par excellence. Such was the platonic concept of the past. There is no friendship Plato said, without desire. The goal of friendship is to acquire something good for me. Thus each one desires what he is deprived of, what is necessary to him that is to say, what is properly his.

There is more. Justificative education cannot be the model to imitate, since it has chosen as order of salvation and redemption, the model of correction and rehabilitation, by which we understand renunciation and refusal. Let us recall, correctional education is first and foremost desire of the anti-evil, the negative differnece, illegal, illegitimate. Thus to chase away evil assumes first of all that one deal with it, investigate and identify it, tend toward it and bend over it, even if for the purpose of doing battle with it, banish it, chasing it away. The facts cannot be pushed aside; correctional undertaking passes through the discourse which names, which says, which stigmatizes reality in some way, founds it and establishes it.

In short, by introducing itself into existence through rejection and opposition, justificative education parks itself into the world of continuing diminution - a sort of sin of ommission to the exponiential degree. Certainly justificative education has its merits, its efficiency. Through it, a man can become author, experience himself as a possibility, in birth, in structure, in cohesion - which is not allowed by coercitive, imposed, discipline. But nothing is learned outside of that, nothing at all of that Other which is the viaticum of life. We can learn the world, from the interior, in its state as object, but through justificative education we do not learn its state as subject, do not learn how man says "I", that is to say, do not learn mutuality, how man says "Thou". As Martin Buber would have it, the experience of what makes someone say "Thou" is not the justificative instinct that leads us to it, it is the instinct for bonding, the instinct of reconciliation to imitate.

In short, by what he describes and demonstrates, Michel Foucault establishes the abusrd logic, the pointless logic of prison and all the trappings of penal justice. By what he does not say he suggests that the solution to prison lies outside the judicial ideology. Anthropology provides a way toward the future through the mimetic hypothesis. Penitentiary education has almost understood this through exploitation of its justificative model. Nothing remains but a single step to discover the model of reconciliatory education - that in which the pedagogy, which is dominant, is not one that demands, but one that gives.

PART III
EVALUATING PRISON PROGRAMS

PRISON PROGRAMMING AND PROGRAM EVALUATION: TRENDS, ISSUES, AND OBSERVATIONS*

Joe Hudson

Introduction

I want to speak to you today about prison education from an auditor's point of view. More specifically, I want to talk from the perspective of an auditor whose main interest is in the field of program evaluation. In this respect, however, it is important to establish that, as an auditor working for the Auditor General of Canada, my purpose is not to evaluate programs, but rather, to audit the extent to which appropriate procedures have been implemented for their evaluation. At least in part, the distinction is one of auditing evaluations, not doing them.

The auditor's perspective is one I have acquired fairly recently after having spent 15 years working in the field of corrections. It is natural, then, that I am particularly interested in evaluation issues as they pertain to prison programming.

The audit perspective is one of seeking answers to questions so as to help understand and, ultimately, arrive at a judgement about a particular subject. Applying this point of view to the evaluation of prison education programs brings out at least the following major sets of questions.

- What is the purpose to be met by imprisonment, and, thereby, prison programs?
- What is the state of the art with respect to research and evaluation on prison education programs?
- What are the significant issues bearing on prison education programs and how do these impact on evaluation?

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*Points of view or opinion stated here are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the position or policies of the Office of the Auditor General of Canada

The first part of this presentation will address the first of these questions and present a context for the discussion to follow. The subsequent parts will describe a suggested set of standards for the purpose and nature of imprisonment as I see them and present a view of how the evaluation of prison education programs can be planned and conducted within that context and in the light of the significant issues in the field.

While adopting an auditor's point of view for the purpose of this paper, I must emphasize that the views expressed should not be taken as reflecting the position of any organization. They are mine alone; I speak for no one else.

Purpose of Imprisonment

The fundamental question to be addressed in corrections policy and practice and, consequently, in the evaluation of prison programs, is the purpose to be met in carrying out the sanction of imprisonment. Although different writers use different terms, most would agree on at least four purposes for imposing and carrying out sanctions -- rehabilitation, deterrence, incapacitation, and retribution.

The rehabilitation rationale for imposing sanctions on offenders rests on the proposition that criminal behaviour is symptomatic of a defect within the offender or the offender's characteristic manner of handling social relationships. Correction of these defects is essential if society is to be protected from further criminal behaviour. The purpose of imprisonment, then, is not so much to punish the offender but to cure him of his propensity to crime. Various means have been applied toward such an end, including, religious exhortation, psychological counselling, remedial education, vocational training and medical treatment.

The philosophy of rehabilitation has provided much of the ideology of sanctioning in this country over the past 50 years.[1] Such ideas as individualized justice, understanding of antecedent causes to explain criminal behaviour, offender classification, discretionary decision making, indeterminancy of release, have all played a central role in the rhetoric, if not always the practice, of corrections. Indeed, the widespread tendency to refer to the imprisonment component of the justice system as "corrections," mirrors the bias toward the rehabilitative philosophy.

Deterrence is a competing purpose of sanctioning. Theorists from this school argue that the rationale for administering sanctions is to deter future criminal acts, either those that might be committed by the offender himself, or other potential offenders. The deterrence position has traditionally been advocated by law enforcement agency officials but more recently has gained wider acceptance in the field of corrections.[2]

A third purpose for administering a sanction of imprisonment is based on the idea of banishment or quarantine and is commonly referred to as incapacitation.[3] In common with writers from the deterrence and rehabilitation schools, proponents of this position argue that the aim of reducing crime justifies the imposition of sanctions. Incapacitating offenders is seen as an effective way to reduce crime. Banishment, of course, is an ancient form of incapacitation; contemporary advocates of this position argue that the prison can perform the same function.[4]

These three penal philosophies -- deterrence, rehabilitation, incapacitation -- have some interesting similarities and distinct differences. First, they are all utilitarian. The justification for imposing sanctions on offenders in all three instances rests on the social utility that sanctioning is seen to hold for reducing crime. The ways of accomplishing this goal may vary -- rehabilitating offenders, deterring potential offenders, incapacitating offenders -- but the goal remains the same. And at times the means used are not all that distinct, either. Criminal justice professionals committed to the rehabilitation notion are often quite willing to incapacitate offenders defined as untreatable or incorrigible. And the distinction between individual deterrence and rehabilitation appears very small in considering some of the more "clockwork orange" types of treatment.

These different views of purpose fail to provide any inherent limitation on the type of sanction administered relative to the criminal offence. While one might argue that the deterrence orientation limits punishment to the amount necessary to deter, rehabilitation to the amount necessary to rehabilitate, and incapacitation to the amount necessary to incapacitate, limitations as broad as these could create the possibility of severely punishing minor offenders. Should an unrepentent car thief be imprisoned for many years in order successfully to deter others? Or even if it is not rehabilitative? None of the three approaches explicitly address the issue of fairness to the offender according to whether or not the sanction imposed bears any reasonable relationship to the criminal act. Instead, the sanction is evaluated in terms of its relationship to deterrent, rehabilitative, or incapacitative effects.

The retributive purpose provides a contrast to the three utilitarian approaches. Unfortunately, the term retribution is frequently associated with vengeance, an altogether inappropriate connection. Retribution theorists argue that punishment should not be imposed to accomplish some future good, instead, punishment should be imposed because the seriousness of the act requires, in order for justice to be done, that the offender be punished.[5]

Ideas of proportionality and just deserts are key concepts. Punishment imposed on offenders must be proportionate to the seriousness of the criminal act. The offender is seen as deserving to be punished because of the criminal act and failure to punish is itself an injustice. Strict limitations must be placed on the amount and type of punishment, however. Punishing a person more than deserved or more than the seriousness of the act warrants is an injustice, and of course so is punishing less than the seriousness of the act warrants. In short, retributionists explicitly address the issue of justice as fairness in the sense that the punishment imposed should, in some reasonable way, be related to the act committed.[6]

The corrections system has always been characterized by an unplanned and perhaps irrational mix of penal philosophies. None has been consistently applied, although in this century the rehabilitation philosophy provided at least the official ideology for corrections programs until the early 1970's.[7] On the basis of moral and ethical concerns, however, coupled with the results of evaluation studies which have consistently shown that prison programs have failed to rehabilitate offenders, corrections programs are increasingly being challenged to re-examine their purpose. Major reports on the corrections systems in this country over the past forty years reflect this call for re-examination of purpose.[8]

The Archambault (1938),[9] Fauteux (1956)[10] and Ouimet (1969)[11] reports into the Canadian federal corrections systems focused on the rehabilitative role of the prison. Rehabilitation was seen as the central purpose to be accomplished by imprisonment.

Archambault reported on the almost complete lack of prison rehabilitation programs but was optimistic that given the program resources, suitable results would follow. The purposive role to be played by prison treatment programs is illustrated by the recommendation of Archambault that young offenders sent to prison should be incarcerated for at least three years, as a shorter sentence would not provide a "sufficient term to ensure proper treatment."[12] Fauteux continued to emphasize rehabilitation, placing importance on the need for more speedy and complete implementation of rehabilitative principles. However, a note of doubt about the place of the rehabilitation purpose in corrections began to surface in the Ouimet Report of 1969. For example, Ouimet remarked on the "considerable disagreement among the authorities we consulted as to both the appropriate theoretical base for prison programs and program details."[13] Further, Ouimet suggested that "one of the problems facing the corrections field in Canada is conflict as to the aims for dealing with convicted offenders," and "the purpose of the criminal law itself."[14]

The ripple of doubt raised in Ouimet became a wave of certainty in the 1976 Report of the Law Reform Commission[15] with the conclusion that the rehabilitation approach had failed. Canadian society was urged to re-adjust its ideas about the purpose to be accomplished by incarceration. Prisons were seen as a last resort, to be used with restraint, and treatment was not seen as the appropriate purpose for imprisoning citizens.

The 1977 Report of the Federal Corrections Agency Task Force[16] and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada[17] built on the views of the Law Reform Commission. The Task Force, for example, reached the conclusion that the "treatment" model in favour since the 1930's should be shelved in favour of a "correctional opportunities model," which derives from the retribution purpose. The Task Force reported that:

> "Continued emphasis on rehabilitation as the recognized goal in corrections will tend to mislead the public as well as the offender regarding the intent, capacity, and capability of corrections."[18]

To summarize, the period between Archambault and the Reports of the Federal Corrections Agency Task Force and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee reflects a growing disenchantment with the rehabilitation rationale. Increased emphasis is being placed on offender volition and responsibility, procedural safeguards to protect offender rights, and the non-coerced provision of opportunities in the form of prison programs and services.[19] The dominant purpose in corrections is increasingly seen as one of retribution, regardless of whether the particular approach is called a "justice model", "opportunities model" or whatever.

Directions for Change

Description can now give way to prescription about what the purpose and nature of imprisonment should be from my point of view, the place for education programs in such prisons, and a way to plan and structure the evaluation of such efforts.

We can begin with the purpose of sanctioning. As should be fairly obvious by now, I come from a retributive perspective. The purpose of corrections, as I see it, is to administer sanctions set by the courts and to provide services to offenders within a context of fairness and decency. Several principles follow from such a purpose:

1. Correctional institutions are obligated to make available basic services usually available to all citizens, including medical, dental, educational and mental health services.
2. Decency should be ensured in all corrections programs. This means an environment that does not degrade the individual. The challenge for prison administrators, managers, and staff is to provide for long term prisoners in ways that will support their integrity as people. Employment programs offering meaningful work opportunities are critical.

3. Offenders should retain their basic human rights, except those expressly, or by necessary implication, taken from them by law.
4. The administration of sanctions should be pursued using only those controls necessary to fulfill the purpose of the sanction.
5. Offender participation in services which are provided or brokered by correctional institutions should be voluntary. A variety of quality self-improvement programs and services should be available to inmates and should approximate programs and services available in the free community. Within the constraints of providing safe custody, maximum freedom of choice should be the operating principle of prison programs. The coercive link between program participation and institution release should be cut, but good time credits and money have a role to play in helping motivate program participation.
6. Offenders have a right to personal safety. Adequate numbers of trained staff and properly designed institutions will help ensure that inmates are safe from others. The converse of this right is a responsibility; the responsibility of inmates not to threaten the lives or property of others. Very real and severe consequences should be imposed on those who threaten to assault the lives or property of others.

Prison programs of all types are vital to a retributive or a rehabilitative approach - and central among these are educational and training programs. However, the point I want to make clear here is that coming from a retribution, rather than a rehabilitation stance, affects my perception of prison education programs and their evaluation.

For someone from the rehabilitation school the key focus of evaluation is on outcomes, and particularly on the impact of education programs on recidivism. Educational programs are a means to achieve the rehabilitative end. Within the context of the retribution philosophy on the other hand, education programs are an end in themselves. The evaluative focus shifts from an impact on release and on post-release behaviour, to program implementation and the impact on more immediate outcomes such as basic educational skills.

I want to turn now to a brief review of the evaluation that has been done on prison education programs before returning to a discussion of evaluative criteria.

The Evaluation of Prison Education

The well known review of the evaluation literature on correctional treatments done by Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson and Judith Wilks[20] identified a total of only eight studies involving education and training programs delivered in correctional institutions. The studies were all reported between 1945 and 1967 and thus reflected an environment concerned primarily with rehabilitation. Six involved juvenile and youthful offenders and two dealt with adult offenders in correctional institutions. The studies covered a variety of "skill development" programs and the research designs used ran from post hoc follow-up studies to before-after single group designs and more rigorous experimental designs. Lipton, Martinson, Wilks concluded their review of these studies by noting:

> "these eight studies indicate that offenders are apparently amenable to training and education. They also indicate that offenders can genuinely improve in basic educational skills, given the teacher's real concern, personal interest, and dynamic instruction."[21]

These authors then went on to note, however, that "such studies seem superfluous."

> "today what is needed is evidence concerning the differential effects of educational programs on post release behaviour. The accumulated evidence in this survey clearly points to the conclusion that regular academic instruction is simply not sufficient to overcome the enormous environmental and social obstacles that interfere with re-entry of "ex-offenders" into the community."[22]

Although I can see how one might well be concerned with post-release behaviour if one sees rehabilitation as the major purpose of prison education programs, how these authors could arrive at their conclusion on the basis of the evidence reviewed is an intriguing question. None of the studies they reviewed used a measure of recidivism as a dependent variable. Instead, they confined themselves to such outcomes as grade level completion, grade point average, completion scores and I.Q. score improvement. The results in these terms were consistently positive, reflecting important benefits from the instruction and training provided.

A very different review of evaluation research in prison education was done by Raymond Bell as part of the National Correctional Educational Evaluation Project. The final report of this study calls the lack of rigorous and systematic evaluation research, "the single most important issue confronting prison education programs."[23] A total of 163 Directors of Education in American Prisons responded to mail questionnaires and telephone interviews and follow-up visits were made by the researchers to twenty institutions. The information collected aimed at providing a picture of evaluation research in correctional education programs in the United States. The authors summarized their findings by noting:

> "NCEEP data suggests that there are a substantial number of correctional education program evaluations reported, but that the quality, effectiveness and purpose of these evaluations may be at best questionable and, at worst, meaningless."[24]

The educators surveyed in the Bell study had some important things to say about the kinds of evaluation research they saw as important for prison education. They suggested that such research should be focused on the quality of programs, the needs that the programs address, and the developmental, continuous, and integrated nature of education programs. Educators thought that evaluation should be qualitative and process oriented, using such criteria as teaching techniques, student progress records, inmate responses, course objectives, and course sequence.[25] These are important statements, particularly if one assumes that evaluation research should aim at meeting the information needs of decision-makers. We shall return to this theme in our discussion of audit criteria or standards for program evaluation.

Before getting to that, however, I want to have a look at some key issues bearing on prison education programs, and ultimately, on the evaluation of those programs.

Prison Education and Program Issues

The extent to which education programs are able to operate effectively within the prison setting is likely to be a function of how a number of issues are addressed. The National Evaluation of Prison Education Programs done by Bell and his colleagues identified twenty major categories of issues to be resolved in favour of education programs if they are to flourish as an integral part of prison programming.[26] Bell found that the major obstacles to achieving a successful prison education program are administrative indifference and neglect. All too frequently, planning is not completed, adequate resources are not allocated, and prison administrators are largely indifferent to the place of education within the institution.

The very nature of the prison itself creates major problems for educational programs. Conflict between concerns for security, custody and institutional maintenance inevitably override concerns about the quality of the educational programs provided. Inadequate space, staff and materials along with frequent interruptions of classroom activities and the mindless harrassment and denigration of students, all contribute to the perception of inmates and staff that education is not to be valued and really doesn't matter.[27] The low priority given to training programs in the institution makes it difficult to motivate inmates to begin and continue with education programs.

Another issue bearing on prison education programs is a common perception among institutional staff that programs are being provided to inmates which are not available in the community to themselves and members of their families. How reasonable this complaint is, is difficult to estimate. One way to help neutralize it, however, has been attempted in several prisons by encouraging staff to enroll in evening courses with inmates. Good results from such efforts have been reported at the Minnesota State Prison, for example.[28] Besides adding interest to the instruction, this type of effort helps to facilitate communication between the different types of students.

Several issues concerning program design were identified in the research conducted by Bell. Conventional schools give responsibility for program design to professional educators. In prisons, however, this responsibility is shared among various staff members -- psychologists and case workers amass diagnostic information, custodial information is added, and all of this is funnelled through institutional classification committees responsible for making inmate assignments. Space and resource constraints will have an overriding impact on such assignments and there is little likelihood that integrated educational plans will come out of such a disjointed process.

Poor program design coupled with the isolation of the prison make it difficult to attract and retain good teachers. Educational staff are hemmed in by the walls and by the geographical isolation of the prison. Lack of access to educational resources because of security considerations and lack of contact with professional colleagues and resources available in larger communities are often difficult problems to overcome.

Even the highly motivated teacher is all too commonly unprepared for teaching in prison. The special nature of the prison world requires that prospective prison educators have opportunities to participate in teacher training programs geared to this unique world. A study done by the Ontario Institute for studies in Education[29] found, for example, that there were no training programs in Canada designed to prepare teachers for the special tasks involved in prison education, yet the vast majority of prison educators expressed a strong need for such training.

Limited resources severely restrict the provision of referral and follow-up services so as to link offenders to adult education and employment programs in the community upon release. The educational effort is all too frequently terminated abruptly with institution release. The result is that the offender is left to his or her own devices or to seek assistance from a parole officer who is not likely to have either the time, inclination, or necessary information about adult community education programs. In 1978, for example, it was reported that in the federal correction system there were only six permanent staff with sole responsibility for providing educational counselling to inmates.[30]

In summary, the auditor's question about the significant issues bearing on prison education programs can be roughly answered: The contemporary prison educator is commonly confronted with several sets of issues ranging from administrative indifference and neglect, inadequate resources, conflict with institutional concerns of security and treatment, lack of meaningful incentives, poor program design and isolation from the community. All of these issues have a bearing on program evaluation and an understanding of them is vital to an auditor who is going to make a judgement about the extent and type of evaluation that is appropriate in particular circumstances.

An Approach to Evaluation

Underlying the approach to evaluation that I want to outline here is a conception of the delivery system for any program as a combination of pathways and actions undertaken to impact on certain program objectives and have other effects. This amounts to viewing the critical elements of any program as involving the expenditure of certain resources or inputs which are transformed into certain program interventions, that result in the production or delivery of short run achievements or program outputs that impact on the relative achievement of program objectives and other long term effects. These program elements, or inputs, interventions, outputs and effects can be arranged in the form of a program structure and logic model to help illustrate how the program is believed to operate. For example, a simplified and hypothetical example of a program structure and logic model for a prison education program would involve:

INPUTS	RESOURCES USED
	▼
ACTIVITIES	SPECIFIC LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN SEQUENCE THAT ARE EXPECTED TO LEAD TO OUTPUT AND OUTCOME OBJECTIVES
	▼
OUTPUTS	ENABLING OR INTERVENING OBJECTIVES (BEHAVIOURS OR TASKS) STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE TO REACH TERMINAL OBJECTIVES
	▼
OUTCOMES	TERMINAL PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The first task of the evaluator, then, is to collect information from interviews and documents about how a program is believed to operate and summarize this information in the form of a program structure and logic model. Once such a model has been developed by the evaluator, it should be presented and agreed to by relevant program managers as reflecting their views on how the program operates. Three major sets of questions need to be addressed by program managers:

1. What are the reasons for wanting to conduct an evaluation? Answers to this question will help ensure that all parties understand and agree on why the evaluation is being undertaken.
2. What questions should be addressed by the evaluation? This type of information will help ensure that the reasons and expectations set for the evaluation can be met.
3. What information is expected to be gained by the evaluation and how will this information be used, and by whom? This information will help ensure that the research findings will be used for program relevant decisions.

The answers to these questions, in conjunction with the resources available, will help determine the degree to which the evaluation will be focused on questions having to do with program inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes.

Given program issues such as administrative neglect and inadequate resources which were described earlier, several critical evaluation questions might be raised at the level of program inputs or resources. An evaluation might aim, for example, at providing information on the number and characteristics of program staff, the amount and type of resources used (including classroom space, materials, equipment) as well as the number and characteristics of inmates and staff participating in the program.

Similarly, issues relating to such matters as conflicts between security and quality of programs, the jealousies of institutional staff, meaningful incentives and quality of program design suggest that evaluation research must focus on program interventions or activities. Critical concerns here would have to do with the manner and extent to which the program has been implemented and operated over time. For example, were teaching materials used as intended; were prescribed procedures for teachers to follow in their teaching and other interactions with students followed;

what were the nature of the activities in which students were involved; what was the relationship between the education staff and prison administrators, security staff, and treatment staff, and students, as well as between the students themselves. A variety of additional questions concerning program intervention can also be suggested: what are the procedures used for making placement decisions for inmates; what is the nature and type of academic or vocational counselling provided to inmates; what are the procedures by which inmates are made aware of available educational programs. Evaluation research focused on program implementation or operations should deal with the frequency or duration of activities as well as their form. The aim is to provide information about the nature of the program as it operates over time. Information based on both qualitative and quantitative methods is likely to be desirable.

Program outputs can provide a third focus for evaluation research. Questions of concern here would have to do with the immediate accomplishments of the program -- the number and characteristics of students completing specified courses of study; number of school withdrawals and the reasons for these; immediate changes in the student's skill level; and so on.

A fourth focus of an evaluation might be aimed at answering questions about long term program outcomes and other effects. It is at this level that evaluations of correctional education involve an assessment of post-program outcomes, such as work and school adjustment in the community and measures of recidivism. I should point out that, as a retributionist, I am much less concerned with such measures as recidivism than I would be if I were proceeding from a rehabilitation stance.

Indeed, there are going to be cases where it is foolish to invest in a study of program outcomes. For example, those cases where there is reason to believe that programs are not being implemented as planned, or where a program is being non-systematically implemented in different ways for different groups. In such cases, evaluation resources should be devoted primarily to assessing program implementation. The long list of program issues identified by Bell, and described earlier, provides a good demonstration of how much remains to be done in terms of evaluating and improving program implementation.

Impact or outcome evaluation without knowledge about what took place can fault a vital program, and result in poor policy decisions. Too frequently outcome evaluations without evidence on implementation conclude that programs are ineffective. In fact, however, the real reason for lack of outcomes may be that the program was not implemented fully, or at all. Thus, the intended program has not been properly tested and evaluated, and there remains the possibility that the intended program might offer significant solutions to human problems.

Ideally, of course, an evaluation would be comprehensive in scope and attempt to collect information about inputs, activities, outputs, and outcomes. Such a comprehensive evaluation would make it possible to determine whether or not the program or intervention was carried out as planned and to assess whether or not the program resulted in changes or modifications consistent with objectives. Most practically, however, evaluation research is probably best seen as an incremental activity: program inputs and activities are examined first, then outputs and outcomes. In such a way, and over some time, a comprehensive evaluation might be completed.

Regardless of the extent to which an evaluation is focused on inputs, activities, outputs or outcomes, it would, ideally, be based on a routinized information system. A management information system simply amounts to a set of procedures for collecting, processing, and reporting information. Such a system represents a key component of formative evaluation useful for monitoring on-going program performance. The continuous flow of information back to managers can help pinpoint program problems and help ensure more efficient and effective services.

To summarize, then, there seems to be a move away from a rehabilitative purpose for corrections towards one of retribution. Such a move, however, does not diminish the important role to be played by prison programs of all types, especially those dealing with education and training. The evaluation of such programs can best be seen as an on-going and continuous process of providing relevant, valid, and reliable information to program managers so as to help ensure the efficient and effective delivery of services.

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PRISON PROGRAMMING AND PROGRAM EVALUATION: A DISCUSSION PAPER

Robert R. Ross

Joe Hudson has emphasized the process aspects of program evaluation, that is the assessment of the extent to which we are actually doing what we are supposed to be doing. He has reminded us that there is little point in doing outcome evaluation, that is in measuring the effectiveness of an educational program, if we never really provided it as it is supposed to be provided in the first place.

I think Joe is quite right in stressing the process aspect of program evaluation. One of the reasons for the "nothing works" mentality in corrections is that program evaluators judged a very large number of programs to be unsuccessful without ever assessing whether or not the programs had ever been adequately implemented. Before we decide that a program is ineffective, we must first determine whether it provides the quality of staff and the intensity of service which it would require if it is to have any chance of being successful. We must determine if the program has "integrity" or whether we are just giving lip service to the program and its principles (as we often do in corrections).

However, I wonder whether it is equally important to stress two other aspects of program evaluation. One of the positive consequences of deciding to evaluate a program is that it forces people associated with the program to ask questions about why they are doing what they are doing. This is often the most difficult aspect of program evaluation, the most anxiety provoking and yet the most valuable.

I think that program evaluation has an important role to play in addressing the question as to whether the programs we provide make sense. Too many of the apparently ineffective programs that Martinson rebuked were programs that never should have been expected to be successful in the first place not because they were poorly implemented but because they were poorly conceptualized. One of the reasons for the failure of many therapy programs was that they were based on a faulty conceputalization of the causes of criminal behavior. They viewed crime as symptomatic of an underlying disease which they never could identify. I can assure you that correctional programs which have attempted to change criminal behavior through a social learning or educational approach have enjoyed much greater success. The conceptualization of the program is an integral part of the program and it must be assessed in program evaluation.

The second aspect of program evaluation I would stress more than Joe is outcome evaluation.

It is, of course, essential that we assess educational programs in terms of process factors: we must assess numbers of prisoners they attract; the number of courses they provide; the quality of their teachers, their curriculum, and the like. Certainly we need to count the number of hours the inmate spends in class and the number of course credits he earns. These measures are necessary, and their accomplishment alone may justify the program input. However, if the purpose of program evaluation is to yield information by which we can persuade people (including ourselves) that we are not only doing what we are supposed to be doing but that we are actually doing something "worthwhile", then I think we must emphasize not just process but also outcome evaluation. We need to evaluate the outcome of programs on the participant's acquisition of knowledge, his vocational and avocational interests, and his values. We need to assess whether the program has changed his leisure-time activities, his perception of the institutional atmosphere, his social relationships, and his ability to cope.

It is reasonable to justify a program simply on the basis that it provides an educational opportunity. However, I think that (in spite of our current acceptance of the correctional opportunities model) you will not get far trying to persuade people to provide more resources for programs only on the basis of the provision of opportunities. After all there are lots of others who wish to use our limited correctional budgets to provide opportunities in other areas such as security, recreation, and the like.

I think the opportunities "model" is only a model by exclusion -- it is not a "model" at all. It is an anti-model. But rather than becoming embroiled in that debate, let me suggest that the opportunities model provides very little by way of guidelines as to which services should be provided. How do people working within that model decide which of all the opportunities are the ones which should be provided? I would suggest to anyone conducting program evaluation on correctional education programs that they ought to employ measures of program outcome, and not limit themselves only to process measures.

I also think we should not limit our study to a single measure (such as recidivism). We should assess whether and to what extent educational programs result in personal/attitudinal or social/intellectual/cultural development in the prisoner-students. We should use multiple measures because corrections should have multiple goals. (I also think it needs multiple models.)

We also might wish to assess whether the program results in an improvement in the prisoner's institutional adjustment -- the incidence of misconduct, assault, self-injuriours behaviors, and the like. We might wish to assess the effects on the offener's post-institutional adjustment -- not just recidivism, but also employment, family stability, continuing education, self-esteem. Far more important, we might wish to determine whether the program had a humanizing effect on the prison itself.

It is possible to justify an education program without establishing that it has an effect on institutional decorum or post-release behavior and I am not suggesting a return to the rehabilitative ideal, but it certainly can add strength to the argument that education should be a central and not just an ancillary aspect of correctional programming if it can be shown that education contributes to offender habilitation.

I recognize that by saying so I am in danger of violating a fundamental premise of evaluation research -- which is that you should not assess a program for effects which it was not designed to achieve in the first place. However, I am convinced that rehabilitation is a worthy goal (not the only goal) for correctional education. Moreover, I can assure you that there is an abundance of evidence to support the view that an educational approach to correctional programming can be an effective means to long term goals not the least of which is a reduction in recidivism.

The extensive reviews of the correctional literature which Paul Gendreau and I have been conducting have identified a large number of highly effective correctional programs. There are numerous programs which have been found (in good quality evaluation studies) to be effective in reducing the recidivism of offenders by 30 to 50% with follow-up periods as long as 5, 10 even fifteen years. A common characteristic of these programs has been their adoption of an educational approach to offender rehabilitation. As a matter of fact, I think that an educational approach may be essential to effective correctional programming. I think you need not back away from outcome evaluation of your programs -- provided as Joe reminds us that you are sure the program is well conceived and adequately implemented in the first place.

PRISON PROGRAMMING AND PROGRAM EVALUATION: DISCUSSANT REMARKS

W. Todd Rogers

As a good, keynote address to be followed by a series of curriculum and evaluation workshops, Dr. Hudson's paper raises several interesting and controversial issues related to the nature and functions of penitentiary education. From the literature, Dr. Hudson cites and describes four purposes of imprisonment, the nature of mileau in which prison education is conducted, and some features of an evaluation system. Based on some recent work I and three of my colleagues recently completed for the Education and Training Division of the Correctional Services of Canada, I find myself agreeing with some of the points he makes, while wanting to raise questions about others. Dr. Hudson's paper serves as a point of departure for discussion and interaction.

Let me begin by stating the obvious: prisons are complex societies into which the main actors (prisoners) are put by others (judges and juries) and kept and monitored by others both while in the prison (corrections staff and administration) and upon release from prison (parole board and parole officers). How to treat prisoners within this complex environment has been described elsewhere in various terms, reflecting, as pointed out by Dr. Hudson, different "penal philosophies". Each philosophy and its operationalization, though, has been found wanting, as witnessed by the call for the re-examination of the purposes of corrections programs. And the notion is there, albeit not clearly, that the philosophies are somewhat in competition, vying for the ultimate reward: credit for at least eliminating recedivism, if not closing the prisons.

Dr. Hudson proposes melding at least two of the philosophies he described in the first part of his paper. He admits coming from a retributive perspective, but a lot of what he says is rehabilitative in nature. Of his six major principles of purpose, it seems to me that at least four (1, 2, 3, 5, and perhaps 6) relate to rehabilitation; three others (3, 4, and 6) appear to embody notions of incapacitation and deterrence. I will leave to others the correct rationale mix of these four penal philosophies. Instead, in the interest of time, I'll accept Dr. Hudson's admission that he comes with a retributive perspective, and what I believe to be his explicit and strong recognition for the need for rehabilitation.

It is toward the latter, rehabilitation, that I wish to direct my further remarks. More specifically, I feel more comfortable addressing issues surrounding the evaluation of rehabilitative education and training programs, in keeping with the last two-thirds of Dr. Hudson's paper. To begin, consider the following quote taken from the first part of Dr. Hudson's paper: from page 7,

> "On the basis of moral and ethical concerns, however, coupled with the results of evaluation studies, which have consistently shown that prison programs have failed to rehabilitate offenders, corrections programs are increasingly being challenged to re-examine their purpose."

It is my thesis that, in Canada, such challenges based upon evaluative data collected to date appear to be unwarranted and likely should be stopped. I would like to ask Dr. Hudson, after reading his introduction in which he described himself as an auditor of evaluations, if he has consistently found credible and useful evaluations? I hasten to point out I use the word consistently, for I believe some evaluations, even with their design flaws, have provided useable data (e.g., Ayers evaluation of post-release behavior of university graduates). Nevertheless, is it not generally true that program evaluations of prison education and training have been found somewhat wanting?

Why does this situation exist? Let me briefly touch upon three plausible reasons:

1. Lack of clarity of the definition of evaluation and it's roles.
2. Lack of appropriate evaluation practice.
3. Potentially confusing lines of authority and apparent low priority given to prison education.

The Definition of Evaluation and It's Roles

Definition: There are several definitions of evaluation present in today's literature. Rather than debating the nuances and appropriateness of these definitions within the correctional system, let us accept Dr. Hudson's assumption that "evaluation research should aim at meeting the information needs of decision-makers" (page 11). I will go a little further and add that the provided information must allow the decision-maker to make decisions regarding the worth of the program or program component being evaluated. I believe we are in good company! (See Stufflebeam for example).

Two points immediately come to fore: Why the use of "evaluation research" instead of just evaluation, and who are the decision-makers?

i) I prefer and would hope that we can use the word evaluation, for evaluation research is commonly used to denote research into the practice and procedures of evaluation. Indeed, it is through this latter activity that recognized evaluation practice has been expanded to include a variety of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. As such, permissible evaluation procedure has been freed from its initial dependence upon the familiar experimental design. It stikes me, given the complexity of prison education, such developments would be welcomed.

ii) The second point relates to who are the decision-makers? Dr. Hudson did not address this issue in detail, although he raised the same question on page 16. When answering this question, it is useful to view the Canadian Penitentiary Education System as one large school district, with 22 schools. The schools, in turn, are organized into groups along regional lines. Thus, we have a three tiered system: information is needed at the local school level by each school's principal (Assistant Warden for Education and Training) and his vice-principals (Supervisors of Academic Education and Vocational Training); at the regional level by the field superintendents (Regional Managers, Education and Training), and at the National level by the superintendent and his assistants (Director, Education and Training, National Headquarters, and the Chiefs of Academic and Vocational Education). The information needs at these three levels are different (or at least they ought to be different given their nominal responsibilities at each level); correspondingly, the evaluation approaches ought to be different. Briefly, disaggregated data are needed at the local level, while aggregated data are more suitable at the regional and national levels.

Parenthetically I might add that, based upon our findings, an evaluation system which fails to provide data at the three levels described quite likely will prove to be ineffective.

Roles: Dr. Hudson is correct and needs to be supported in his view that evaluations ought to assume two roles: formative and summative. He correctly cautions that premature summative evaluation can prejudice a case so that the particular program of interest may be inappropriately judged ineffective. He recognizes the need for formative evaluation -- evaluation carried out during the creation or formation of a course or program and their implementation. He has identified input, context, and output as distinct but interrelated phases of a program, each in need of evaluation. Clearly, evaluation is beginning to become a tool of management for program improvement when seen this way. Unfortunately, Dr. Hudson's ideal that evaluation be based upon a routinized information system which "simply amounts to a set of procedures for collecting, processing, and reporting information" (page 19) appears to be in conflict with a lot of what he has written, and permits the potential of allowing others unfamiliar with his paper to conclude the full nature of formative evaluation and summative evaluation. Further, I do not believe a simple routinized system will be sufficiently sensitive to the real complexities of the three tiered system and the real and recognized variability among the individual prison education and training programs. I must add though that through the use of carefully constructed social indicators, it may be possible to obtain some "routinized" data at reasonable time intervals to allow meaningful decision-making.

A second class of problems contributing to ineffective evaluation of prison education concerns the lack of appropriate evaluation practices. As alluded to earlier, several approaches to evaluation are used today in addition to those founded upon the experimental method. These approaches - responsive, portrayal, case studies to name but three - are particularly useful in situations involving several disparate units which, although enjoying some or several common dimensions, possess their own unique set of operations and conditions. Some of these conditions must be recognized and respected in their own right; others may be placed on a common metric, but only after careful and deliberate data analyses to account for or balance disparate conditions. As pointed out by Dr. Hudson, the evaluations need to be sensitive to the very nature of each of the prisons.

A third factor, and the last one I will discuss today, which contributes to ineffective evaluation concerns the potentially confusing lines of authority operational in the prison system and the apparent low priority given to prison education. Dr. Hudson points out many of these issues, summarizing: (page 14)

> "The contemporary prison educator is commonly confronted with several sets of issues ranging from administrative indifference and neglect, inadequate resources, conflict

> with institutional concerns of security and treatment, lack of meaningful incentives, poor program design and isolation from the community".

To these I would add, for Canada, the confusion arising out of the crossing of line and functional authority. It is my conviction though, that a multi-method-multi-variable-multi-component evaluation system, designed and implemented with such constraints in mind, will go a long way toward disentangling the web and providing a fair view of the worth of education and training as part of prison rehabilitation.

I hope that my remarks add to what Dr. Hudson has presented. I would be remiss if I did not reiterate my belief that he has presented a paper leading to the workshops to follow, and if I did not thank him for providing not one, but three drafts of his paper in ample time for me to prepare my reaction. Thank you.

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTARY

Joe Hudson, Robert Ross, and Todd Rogers

Question 1:

I'm delighted that evaluation was defined. It does mean to make a judgment about the worth of something. If I take a particular standard then try to find out whether that standard is met, in other words, that students can read, or write, or students have a moral reasoning level, that's one way of evaluating. I would like all three to comment on how would you evaluate the standards which you are using.

Response: Todd Rogers

I would accept the standard that you set. For example you decide the kind of activities that teachers should perform. You then want information collected so as to make a judgment about whether or not those activities are being completed by the teachers. You know what you are going to do with that information when you get it. I think the job of the evaluator is to design in conjunction with you the data collection procedure.

Question 2:

How do I know that I've got the right theory. How do I know that my practice is justifiable?

Response: Joe Hudson

In terms of the theory, I would want to clarify the kind of program structure and logic model. I would want to know how the program, theoretically, is predicted to operate: that the program will expend these resources, that will be transformed into certain kinds of interventions or activities, that will result in certain short-term outcomes, that will result in certain long term effects. That's the kind of theoretical model that you owe for your program and that can be tested out, certain parts of it, or all of it, for that matter, through the evaluation.

Response: Robert Ross

In order to decide whether or not the theory underlying the program makes sense, it seems to me you have to meet at least two criteria. One is the simple rational basis.

Is it logical? Is it in accord with the known facts? What are the goals which flow from the underlying theory? Are they reasonable, given the theory in the first place? Often you find that the goals for the program are not at all the things which follow from the underlying theory that the program is supposed to rest on. The second criteria in terms of determining whether or not the underlying theory is adequate for the program, is to see to what extent it accords with the amount of information and knowledge that we have in the literature and from research. I can give you a case in point, the UVic program is said to rest upon notions of cognitive deficiencies in offenders. It seems to me that it's important to determine whether or not the underlying theory accords with the facts. In this case to see to what extent there is evidence that crime causes deficiencies in offenders to exist and that cognition and crime are related.

Question 3:

I'd like to ask Dr. Hudson if his opportunities model really depends on the retribution approach. It seems to me, as Todd Rogers has pointed out, that a lot of what you have put forward is completely consistent with either deterrence or incapacitation. Do you object to a rehabilitation model? I worry about the retribution approach. It appears attractive for school children, as in "Stay after school", or "Write a hundred lines". However, when you get into the serious business of murder, or bank robbery, it seems that just desserts is not possible.

Response: Joe Hudson

The opportunities model is not mine, that's the model that presumably underlies the Correctional Service of Canada programs. I don't want to be speaking for them as they are quite able to speak for themselves. It's my view, and the senior decision makers would not necessarily agree with me that the opportunities model is based on essentially a retributionist approach. I don't want to argue that point. I don't have terrible problems with their approach. I think the problem does come, however, when you look at the other end of the imprisonment continuum, that is the paroling process. Here I believe you see a very different model working which I would think would be rather frustating and difficult for offenders who are exposed to two rather conflicting points of view.

To operationalize the just desserts retribution approach let's forget about opportunities model because I don't want to get into that. I think you can operationalize retribution for serious offenders. I know the philosophers have been going around with this issue for many many hundreds of years. All of the eminent philosophers, at one time or another, have taken a crack at the question of punishment. I think practically, however, it can be done, and it is being done, for example, in the area of sentencing guidelines. The key issue is imposing a punishment on an offender, an adjudicated offender. There are places in North America now were they are operating from an explicit retributionist perspective. Sentencing guidelines for the commission of a particular kind of an offence with a certain number of prior commitments on the criminal record, will result in the offender receiving a specific type of punishment. Two things are done in this approach. First, there's a determination made as to who will and who will not go to prison. I'm only talking about adult offenders. That's the first thing that the sentencing guidelines do. The second thing is that once it is determined who goes to prison, the length of time is stipulated. I'm not talking about a relatively open-ended indeterminate type of system. It's very very specific. For example, for a crime of theft with one prior offence, the sentence will be 30 to 34 month. There's a 4 month discretionary period for the judge to exercise. There's also further discretion built in for the judge. He can increase or decrease that 30 to 34 month time by one-quarter, but he has to give written reasons for increasing or decreasing by one-quarter and those reasons are appealable to the Supreme Court of the jurisdiction. I think that's an eminently sensible approach. I think it's an eminently sensible approach because I'm very concerned as a citizen and as a taxpayer about the discretionary authority exercised by public officials. Most of the crucial decisions being made that impact on our lives in North America are made by non-elected officials on the basis of unstructured, unfettered discretion. They can decide like the parole board does, to release or not release, at any point in time. I'm very concerned about unstructured discretion because I think it leads inevitably to abuse.

Comment and Question 4:

I thought Todd Rogers would criticize Dr. Hudson more on the question of experimental design. He said that we don't have the same control in prison as we have in the psych lab. He also said that the prisons are complex places where it is difficult to control variables. However, by definition, a prison is a place were people in the phenomena of interest are under control and that means that it would be possible to abandon our retributive model and perhaps substitute a social learning one creating a true learning community. It also means that we are in a unique position with regard to the extent which we can conform to proper principles of experimental design. Despite the discussion today about the importance of processes and the warnings about the danger of premature summative evaluation, I believe that basically we are primarily interested in outcomes. We should be more interested in making durable predictions about outcomes associated with educational intervention than with gaining some sort of understanding. To my mind, prediction is were it ought to be at. Understanding at this stage it's somewhat of a luxury that we may not be able to afford.

Most government agencies appear to evaluate a project after the fact. It's very rare to find a project that is set up where pre-intervention measures are collected. Therefore, I was disappointed that Todd Rogers, who can normally be depended on to take a hard-nosed attitude about this issue, didn't question and criticize Joe Hudson more. I'd like to ask Dr. Hudson if it isn't just a political decision? Why is it that the evaluators are trundled in after the fact? Why is evaluation not set up as an intrigal part of a program before it begins.

Response: Joe Hudson

I think that is a very good question. I don't presume to talk for the Government of Canada. In fact, the Auditor General is not part of the Government of Canada. We report to Parliament. That is a very important distinction. Speaking for myself, it's my understanding, but i stand to be corrected, that there are published guidelines that any new program to be implemented in a federal government department or agency must have an evaluation built in at the front end, exactly as you are suggesting.

In terms of prediction, I get very nervous when people, especially dealing with captive populations, talk about the use of prediction devices. From a strictly scientific point of view, I agree. Being able to predict is very desirable, but in terms of the field of corrections I get very concerned. In fact, I think the literature would support the view that all prediction devices used to date, whether predicting dangerousness or recidivism are not particularly accurate. In fact there is a great danger of false positives from over-predicting. These devices frequently predict that certain people will commit dangerous offences or recidivate, but who, in fact, never do. There are some moral and ethical concerns I believe that override the scientific needs, at least, they do to me as a citizen. There's one other point I want to make. The crucial distinction from my mind between a retributive, just desserts model and rehabilitation model is one of basing release to program participation. It's a cohesive link that I strongly reject. On values grounds I'm quite open to have other people with different values disagree with me, but I don't believe that we should operate in a totalitarian manner, as some other countries in the world do. If we do it to the least of these our citizens, you know the rest of that story.

Response: Todd Rogers

I'd like to emphasize what I think Joe Hudson said, what I think Bob re-emphasized and what I know that I mentioned. It is that evaluation is not a one shot activity, that it is continuous. If it is continuous, then it clearly must have a beginning. Much of what we read in evaluation literature involves more than a summative one shot project where you hire a methodologist, usually for an educational psychology department to go in and do a three months study. I don't believe that is proper. Evaluation in the prison system should be continuous, and should involve mostly formative evaluation and once in a while summative evaluation. There are many constraints in the prison systems. For example, prisoners very often decide where they are going, so you cannot really randomly assign them somewhere. From my brief experience with prisons, studies must take into account the real living and working conditions of the priosners, or they will not be credible evaluations.

PART IV

EVALUATION WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

PLANNING AN EVALUATION

Abram G. Konrad

Introduction

In a recent review of the novel J.R. by William Gaddis the reviewer observed that one of the author's assumptions was that "Life is what happens to us while we are planning other things." It may be analogous to say that prison education developed while chaplains and others were addressing the personal needs of inmates. Clearly, the concern for evaluation in prison education must be seen as an extension of a general interest in evaluation -- of institutions, programs, and personnel -- rather than a logical outcome of addressing the objectives of incarceration in Canadian prisons.

You are not alone in your interest in evaluation. Across the breadth of this country, the United States, and elsewhere, educational leaders face mounting pressures to develop meaningful approaches to evaluation. Unfortunately, as Robert Burns reminded us, most people do not see themselves as others see them, and educational leaders are no exception. From the fairy tale we recall that what we see in the "mirror on the wall" is not necessarily a true reflection of ourselves, but rather the image that we would like others to see. On a personal level, we have generally accepted the Socratic aphorism, "An unexamined life is not worth living," but it's another matter when we focus upon formal programs or institutions. Would an appropriate corollary in today's discussion be: "An unexamined prison education program is not worth keeping behind bars"? A prison education program, like other programs, acquires a life of its own, and, characterized by considerable inertia, it may be slow to respond to changing conditions. From time to time, it is helpful to step back and examine what is happening, how, with whom, and with what effect. Program evaluation provides the occasion for such an examination.

Definitions

Evaluation means different things to different people. For example, it is describing a program or person as fully as possible (Stake, 1967); it is providing useful information for decision-makers (Stufflebeam, 1967); it is both the judgment on the worth or impact of a program, procedure, or individual, and the process by which that judgment is made for decision making (Dressel, 1976). To evaluate, according to these definitions, is to place a value or worth on something or someone for the purpose of decision making or change.

In planning evaluation activities, most practising evaluators subscribe to Scriven's (1967) distinction between formative and summative evaluation. Formative evaluation concerns itself with improvement, development and growth during the operation of a program; summative evaluation focuses on the data gathered in the assessment of overall effectiveness of a program for reaching a decision about the program and its future. While these distinctions may be useful in referring to the outcome of an evaluation, they do not distinguish as clearly between evaluation processes.

Evaluation Models

Kipling wrote, "There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, and-every-single-one-of-them-is-right." The explication of an appropriate evaluation model is not a simple task. Gephart (1977) identified over 30 models of the evaluation process in the evaluation literature. Before examining two of these briefly, it must be emphasized that evaluation approaches should be tailored to specific programs. Indeed, a good plan for program evaluation provides for an examination of the context or setting of the educational program as a part of the total assessment.

A model or framework for evaluation provides a structure for planning an evaluation. Known as the Countenance Model, Stake (1967) developed a model that emphasizes two salient operations in the evaluation process -- description and judgment. Both description and judgment consider the condition prior to program activity (antecedents), the activities that constitute the program process (transactions), and the effects of the program (outcomes). In addition, Stake divided the descriptive acts into what was intended and what was observed, and the judgment acts, according to whether they refer to the standards used in reaching judgments or the judgments themselves. A graphic representation of the statements and data needed in the evaluation is presented in Figure 1.

A broad approach to assessment is provided by the CIPP evaluation model developed by Stufflebeam (1967). This model provides a focus upon the Context (C), Input (I), Process (P), or Product (P) of a program. An evaluation project could examine any one of these aspects singly, or a comprehensive evaluation could include all four components. Figure 2 illustrates that each type of evaluation has its own objective, method, and relationship to decision-making.

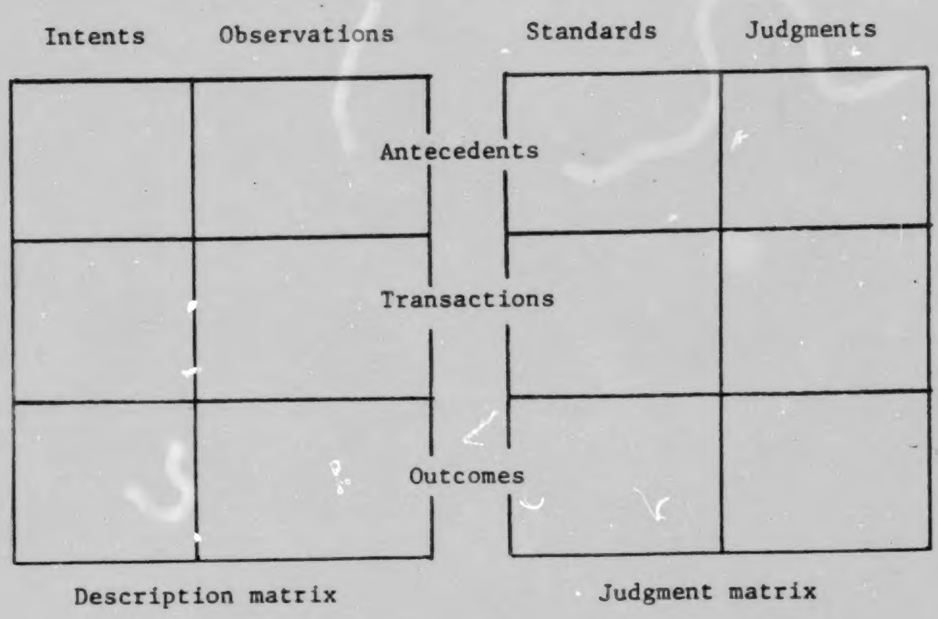
Intents
Observations
Standards
Judgments
Antecedents
Transactions
Outcomes
Description matrix
Judgment matrix

Figure 1

Statements and Data Needed by
Educational Evaluators

Source: Stake, Robert. Teachers College Record, Vol. 68, No. 7, April, 1967, p. 529.

Context evaluation provides a rationale for determining objectives in a program through an examination of the educational environment and the unmet needs. Assessing opportunities and impediments can assist in the formation of educational strategies that will be used for coping with the context. Input evaluation assesses the human and material resources available to meet program goals. Decisions based upon input evaluation result in specification of materials, facilties, equipment, staff and other procedural designs. In process evaluation, the program operations are examined to determine their strengths and weaknesses. The purpose of process evaluation is to implement and refine program operations. Finally, product evaluation

The Strategies

	Context Evaluation	Input Evaluation	Process Evaluation	Product Evaluation
OBJECTIVE	To define the operation context, to identify and assess needs in the context, and to identify and delineate problems underlying the needs.	To identify and assess system capabilities, available input strategies, and designs for implementing the strategies.	To identify or predict, in process, defects in the procedural design or its implementation, and to maintain a record of procedural events and activities.	To relate outcome information to objectives and to context, input, and process information.
METHOD	By describing individually and in relevant perspectives the major subsystems of the context; by comparing actual and intended inputs and outputs of the subsystems; and by analyzing possible causes of discrepancies between actualities and intentions.	By describing and analyzing available human and material resources, solution strategies, and procedural designs for relevance, feasibility and economy in the course of action to be taken.	By monitoring the activity's potential procedural barriers and remaining alert to unanticipated ones.	By defining operationally and measuring criteria associated with the objectives, by comparing these measurements with predetermined standards or comparative bases, and by interpreting the outcome in terms of recorded input and process information.
RELATION TO DECISION-MAKING IN THE CHANGE PROCESS	For deciding upon the setting to be served, the goals associated with meeting needs and the objectives associated with solving problems, i.e., for planning needed changes.	For selecting sources of support, solution strategies, and procedural designs, i.e., for programming change activities.	For implementing and refining the program design and procedure, i.e., for effecting process control.	For deciding to continue, terminate, modify or refocus a change activity, and for linking the activity to other major phases of the change process, i.e., for evolving change activities.

Figure 2

The CIPP Evaluation Model
A Classification Scheme of Strategies for Evaluating Educational Change

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Source: Daniel S. Stufflebeam. "The Use and Abuse of Evaluation in Title III." Theory into Action, October, 1967.

measures and interprets attainments during and at the end of a program in relation to context, inputs and process. Product evaluation could result in decisions to continue, modify or terminate a program.

An Example

In the fall of 1980, an evaluation team of six at the University of Alberta (Seger, et al.) used the CIPP model to conduct an evaluation of inmate education in two prison settings in Alberta. The terms of reference contained a specification that the project should emphasize formative evaluation and should be directed at three levels of decision-making: 1) the overall program policies involving both correctional institutions (provincial), 2) the educational program at each location (institutional), and 3) the specific projects or courses in each location (project).

Consistent with the CIPP model, the evaluation of inmate education was designed to provide information for those who had responsibility for making decisions about policies and programs. The major components of the evaluation design included objectives, data collection and analysis, findings and implications, alternatives, and recommendations. Figure 3 illustrates the interrelationship of these components and indicates that alternatives were examined only in Phase Three of the evaluation project. (The evaluation design was developed in Phase One and Phase Two examined the programs during the start-up period of the inmate education program.)

The specific objectives of the evaluation project were:

1. To monitor the inmate education program at the provincial, institutional, and project level with respect to context, inputs, process and products;
2. To analyze the data and to evaluate the program primarily from a formative orientation;

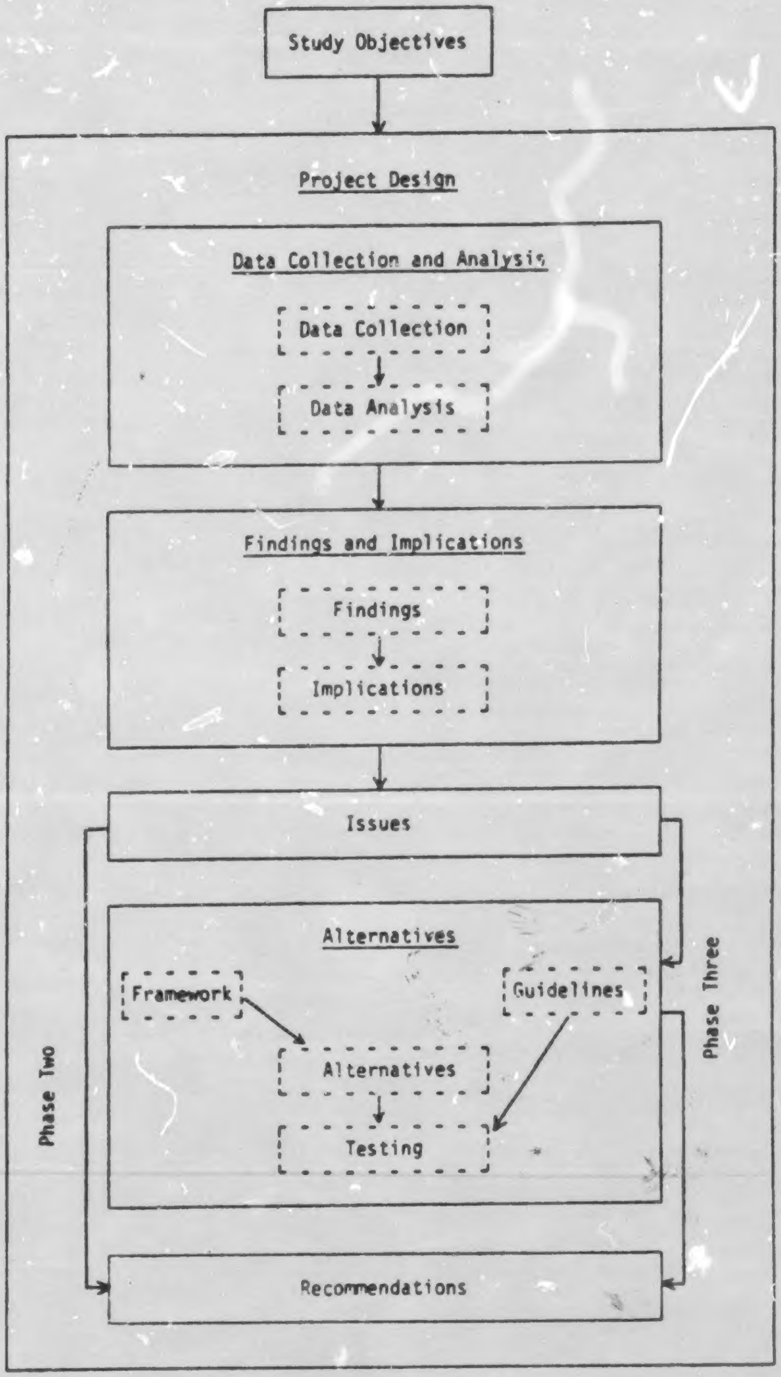
Study Objectives
Project Design
Data Collection and Analysis
Data Collection
Data Analysis
Findings and Implications
Findings
Implications
Issues
Alternatives
Framework
Guidelines
Alternatives
Testing
Phase Two
Phase Three
Recommendations

Figure 3

Project Design Model

3. To generate issues surrounding the development and delivery of inmate education;

4. To develop and test alternate delivery systems; and

5. To develop recommendations for the inmate education program and its delivery.

The evaluation team established two advisory committees -- one for each of the institutions -- to assist in the design and conduct of the evaluation. Data collection procedures[*] and sources included:

1. Reviews of reports, minutes of meetings, proposals, records of courses and correspondence;

2. Interviews with officials in government departments most directly involved with inmate education, namely, the Solicitor General and Advanced Education and Manpower;

3. Interviews with officials in correctional institutions and postsecondary organizations, and members of consortium committees;

4. Attendance at meetings of consortium management and task committees;

5. Observational visits to correctional institutions;

6. Interviews with instructors and both participating and non-participating students;

7. Interviews with caseworkers, corrections officers and other professional personnel; and,

8. Review of literature on imate education.

Compilation and analysis of data were designed to develop a description of the provincial context and comprehensive case studies of inmate education programs at each of the two correctional institutions. Drafts of the reports were examined by members of the advisory committees and revisions were made in accordance with additional information and interpretations obtained through this validation process.

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[*] Examples of interview schedules and questionnaires appear in the Appendix.

Issue areas were identified through data analyses and by the literature review. The prison education literature also provided an important source of suggestions for alternative delivery startegies. The issues and alternative strategies were either confirmed, clarified or modified through meetings with the advisory committee members. And, finally, recommendations for inmate education were generated from these interactions.

The application of the CIPP evaluation model was effective in examining the inmate education program in two Alberta prisons and served as the basis for generating recommendations for program improvements.

Conclusion

Will prison education programs be evaluated? Actually, they are already being evaluated. Every participant and many observers of prison education evaluate the program, its objectives, staff, strategies, facilities and outcomes all the time in one way or another. The question is rather about the adoption of a systematic approach to evaluation of prison education.

In conclusion, systematic evaluation can be developed most readily when the authorization for undertaking such an evaluation is made at the policy level of the program. Furthermore, participation will be most enthusiastic when the results of the evaluation can be shared widely and used for program improvement. Evaluation of prison education programs can result in better educational programs.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES
QUESTIONNAIRES

INMATE EDUCATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. Government Department

Name of Respondent ______________________________ Date ____________

Position ____

1. What are the department's objectives for inmate education?

2. What do you see as the objectives of inmate education programs? How are these likely to change?

3. What kinds of decisions do you personally influence with respect to inmate education?

4. In making these decisions with respect to inmate education, what kinds of information do you currently use? What additional information would you like to have?

5. How would you judge the success of the inmate education program?

6. What organizational elements influence the inmate education programs?

7. How is coordination achieved among the various inmate education programs and their delivery?

8. What method should be used in identifying inmate education needs and in developing educational programs for inmates?

9. What role should correctional officers have in the design and delivery of inmate education?

10. Do you think enough resources (personnel, financial, space) have been allocated to inmate education?

11. What major barriers exist in the design and delivery of inmate education?

12. How could inmate education be improved?

INMATE EDUCATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

B. Program Coordinators

Name of Respondent ______________________ Date ____________

Position ____

1. What are your organization's objectives for inmate education?

2. What do you see as the objectives of inmate education programs? How are these likely to change?

3. What kinds of decisions do you personally influence with respect to inmate education?

4. In making these decisions with respect to inmate education, what kinds of information do you currently use? What additional information would you like to have?

5. How would you judge the success of the inmate education programs?

6. What organizational elements influence the inmate education programs?

7. How is coordination achieved among the various inmate education programs and their delivery?

8. What method should be used in identifying inmate education needs and in developing educational programs for inmates?

9. What programs and courses are presently offered?

10. What is your role in the selection and orientation of instructional staff?

11. What role should correctional officers have in the design and delivery of inmate education?

12. Describe the procedures used in course promotion and the selection of students.

B. Program Coordinators (Continued)

13. Describe the program and course evaluation procedures that are presently used.

14. How are the evaluation results used?

15. What kind of follow-up is possible to determine how students use the learning experiences in a course after leaving the institution?

16. Do you think enough resources (personnel, financial, space) have been allocated to inmate education?

17. What major barriers exist in the design and delivery of inmate education?

18. How could inmate education be improved?

INMATE EDUCATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

C. Correctional Officers

Name of Respondent ______________________________ Date ______________

Position ____

1. What do you see as the purposes of inmate education?

2. What kinds of decisions do you personally influence with respect to inmate education?

3. In making these decisions with respect to inmate education, what kinds of information do you currently use? What additional information would you like to have?

4. How would you judge the success of the inmate education program?

5. What organizational elements influence the inmate education programs?

6. How is coordination achieved among the various inmate education programs and their delivery?

7. What method should be used in identifying inmate education needs and in developing educational programs for inmates?

8. Do you think enough resources (personnel, financial, space) have been allocated to inmate education?

9. What major barriers exist in the design and delivery of inmate education?

10. How could inmate education be improved?

INMATE EDUCATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

D. Instructors

Name of Respondent ______________________ Date __________

Position ____

1. What do you see as the purposes of inmate education?

2. How were you selected to teach in inmate education and what kind of orientation have you received?

3. What courses do you teach?

4. What are your instructional objectives?

5. How appropriate are the instructional objectives for your students?

6. What is your role in course promotion and student selection?

7. How many students are taking your courses and how comparable are they in terms of educational background, experience and personal variables?

8. How appropriate are the organizational arrangements for your teaching?

9. How appropriate are the organizational arrangements for your students?

10. What are the primary modes of instruction used in your teaching?

11. To what extent are the students' expectations of the course met?

12. What course evaluation procedures do you use?

13. How are the evaluation results used?

D. Instructors (Continued)

14. What effect does participation in inmate education have on inmates?

15. What kind of follow-up is possible to determine how students use the learning experiences in a course after leaving the institution?

16. Do you think enough resources (personnel, financial, space) have been allocated to inmate education?

17. What major barriers exist in the design and delivery of inmate education?

18. How could inmate education be improved?

INMATE EDUCATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

E. Students

Name of Respondent ______________________________ Date ______________

1. In what courses have you participated?

2. Why have you enroled in these courses?

3. To what extent did the course content meet your expectations?

4. How do you feel about the teaching approaches taken in your courses?

5. How appropriate were the organizational arrangements for participation in educational courses?

6. What effect has your participation in educational courses had on your overall program?

7. What major problems or difficulties have you experienced in taking part in educational courses?

8. What could be done to improve the educational offerings?

INMATE EDUCATION (INSTRUCTORS)

Please check (✓) the appropriate response or print the information as required by the item. 1/1-3

1. a. Name of institution

C.C.I. (1) _____ F.S.C.I. (2) _____ 4

b. Component of Inmate Education Program

Basic Education (1) _____ BJRT/Life Skills (2) _____

Vocational (3) _____ Leisure/Liberal Arts (4) _____ 5

c. Date course began ____________________ 6-9

Date course ended ____________________ 10-1

d. Name of course ____ 14,1

e. Number of students enrolled at the beginning of the course ____________ 16,1

f. Number of students who completed the course ____________ 18,1

g. Please indicate your opinion of the number of students enrolled at the beginning of the course.

(1) _____ too many (2) _____ about right (3) _____ too few 20

h. If in your response to item 1(g), you have indicated 'too many' or 'too few', please check (✓) all relevant factors:

_____ nature of equipment 21

_____ nature of instructional space 22

_____ nature of subject matter 23

_____ educational background of students 24

	Completely				Not at all	
	5	4	3	2	1	
2. a. Was the content clearly specified for you?						25
b. Were the expected outcomes made explicit to you?						26
c. Were individual student profiles provided?						27

3. Please evalute the following:

	Excellent 5	4	3	2	Poor 1	
a. instructional materials made available to you						28
b. instructional space made available to you						29
c. amount of instructional time made available to you						30
d. student attendance throughout the course						31
e. student motivation as demonstrated in class						32

4. Have you ever taught this or a similar course before? (Any educational setting)

Yes (1) ____ No (2) ____ 33

5. Have you any previous experience of teaching in a correctional setting?

Yes (1) ____ No (2) ____ 34

6. If your response was No to item 5, please rate the orientation to the correctional setting which you received.

Orientation	Excellent 5	4	3	2	Poor 1	
						35

7. Were there opportunities to interact with other instructors?

Many 5	4	3	2	Few 1	
					36

8. Are you willing to teach in a correctional setting again?

Yes (1) ____ No (2) ____ 37

9. Please suggest any changes that might improve learning outcomes.

____

____

____

____

____

Thank you for completing the questionnaire

INMATE EDUCATION (STUDENTS)

Please answer the questions by printing the information or checking (✓) items. 1 1-5

1. a. Name of institution

C.C.I. (1) ____ F.S.C.I. (2) ____ 6

b. Date course began ________ 7-10

c. Name of course ______________________________ 11,12

2. Check highest grade completed

1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ 5 ___ 6 ___

7 ___ 8 ___ 9 ___ 10 ___ 11 ___ 12 ___ 13,14

13 some college or university ___

14 completed a college or university program ___

(*If you have checked* (✓) *13 or 14, please name the program:*

____) 15

3. Were you employed at the time of arrest?

1. Yes ____ 2. No ____ 16

If yes were you employed full-time?

1. Yes ____ 2. No ____ 17

4. Where did you first hear about the course?

1. other inmates ____ 4. orientation ____

2. caseworker ____ 5. teacher ____ 18

3. corrections officer ____ 6. noticeboard/poster ____

5. Why did you take the course? (*Check* (✓) *as many reasons as you wish.*)

1. interest in subject matter ____

2. would impress the parole officer ____ 19-22

3. would help my future plans ____

4. thought it might fill a little time ____

6. Was the course interesting?

1. very much ____ 2. somewhat ____ 3. no ____ 23

7. Do you think this course will help you after your release?

1. very much ____ 2. some ____ 3. very little ____ 24

8. Did you attend regularly?

1. all sessions ____

2. most of the sessions ____ 25

3. a few sessions ____

9. Would you recommend this course to a friend?

1. yes ____ 2. no ____ 26

Thank you for completing the questionnaire

EVALUATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA PROGRAM IN FEDERAL PRISONS[1]

J. Douglas Ayers

The University of Victoria Program offers university level courses mainly in the humanities and the social sciences to prisoners at four federal prisons in British Columbia. Within this liberal arts approach there is a structural developmental thrust to promote cognitive, social, and moral development and not simply to provide a general education or job skills. It is assumed that prisoners are lacking in cognitive development, social skills and moral reasoning ability and that these deficits are related to the facts of their behaviour. Cognitive development of students is brought about primarily through the academic courses. Certain social skills are imparted through intensive interactions with a variety of staff and the university community that is encouraged to exist within the Academic Centres. Moral reasoning, the most difficult deficit to confront, is addressed through the totality of the Program, courses, staff, and peer pressure. All of this is aimed at, if not transformation of character, at least a significant growth in recognized levels of development in each of the areas. In this way an attempt is made to avoid the "educated criminal" as the end product.

The University of Victoria Program and Its Purposes

From its inception in 1972, the University of Victoria (UVic) Program has maintained a commitment to four primary goals:

1. Develop more awareness of the problems and issues in society generally and, hopefully, incorporate more mature values using particularly English and history courses as vehicles for such development.
2. Bring about certain attitude and personality changes that will prepare students to cope successfully with society and its institutions, in particular, develop skill to take alternative views in discussion of issues, to suspend judgment; to understand society's institutions and their rights and responsibilities as citizens.
3. Make students more self-confident and better able to express themselves.

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[1] Parts of this paper are based on research funded by the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Solicitor General.

4. Provide students with the basis for further education--vocational, technological, academic or cultural. This basis for continuing education includes the development of the necessary work and study habits and confidence to pursue further education. A subsidiary outcome is to make the student more employable and better able to hold a job.

To achieve these goals the Program employs a developmental approach based on an interactional model of human growth and maturation. This model is based on theories of Piaget and Dewey and is supported by studies of the University of Victoria Program by Ayers (1979, 1981), and Duguid (1979, 1980), and the work of Kohlberg (1969), Tapp (1971), and Scharf and Hickey (1976), among others. In the UVic model it is assumed that adult prisoners simply have deficits in cognitive development interpersonal skills and moral judgment,that these deficits are a causal factor in decisions to commit criminal acts and that they are best dealt with through a process of habilitation rather than rehabilitation, that is, development rather than transformation (Ayers, 1981).

The Program is a much more complex undertaking than may be apparent to a visitor. It operates at three levels, each related to the other and yet quite distinct. The most visible and obvious function of the University of Victoria Program is the offering of university level courses in the humanities and social sciences to prisoners at four federal penitentiaries. Starting nine years ago with only a few courses in English, history, psychology and sociology, the Program has expanded to include a full-range of courses in these fields, plus anthropology as well as individual courses in a variety of other disciplines such as philosophy, theatre, biology, and mathematics. For the past four years a Bachelor of Arts degree has been offered prisoner/students who are unable to transfer to a university campus. All courses are fully accredited and may be transferred to any university in Canada. While not aimed at providing specific post-secondary vocational training, the Program does provide a general education to the level of a B.A. degree and thus allows many students an opportunity for a career change.

The second level on which the Program operates is centered on the theory of human growth or development which lies at the very base of the Program. Besides offering post-secondary education for career change or advancement, the major thrust is in using this educational process to further a more complex process of development within the students in the Program. The cognitive development implicit in the formal academic part of the Program is a necessary prerequisite to social and moral development, but for the latter to take place, the courses must also include a moral or ethical dimension. As our studies and others have shown, English and history, as the core disciplines, provide ideal vehicles for the discussion and elaboration of social, political, and ethical issues and forums for the debate of those issues (Parlett, Ayers & Sullivan, 1975; Trow, 1976; and Duguid, 1979). Likewise in the social sciences, instructors are encouraged to structure their courses around issues and allow for a free flow of debate and discussion on social and ethical problems so inevitably present in those disciplines.

Finally, the third level at which the program operates concerns the creation of a sense of an alternative community. The aim is to acquaint the prisoner/student with an alternative set of social relationships with individuals unlike those he may have known before, and with ideas and social practices which challenge long held beliefs. This is done in several ways. The first requirement is as much isolation as possible from the institution itself since its personnel and practices simply mirror the moral and physical world the students are familiar with. Secondly, the staff of the program are neither the same as nor aloof from the world of the prisoner/student. Instructors seek neither to idolize nor condemn the self-view of the prisoner, but rather to challenge it in order to encourage self-directed change. Thirdly, instructors try to expose the prisoner/student to as much input as possible that is new or out of the ordinary, including quality films, alternative music, art, and current events. Finally, a definite attempt is made to create a sense of community by encouraging the development of corporate responsibility through student councils, teaching assistants, group decision-making and a general refusal to let institutional politics or mores govern life within the university area. In addition, it is recognized that the sense of being part of a group and the encouragement and support of one prisoner of another further contributes to the promotion of cognitive learning and social development.

The University of Victoria Program differs from all other post-secondary programs in that it has clear goals that involve more than pursuing further education, a core of instructors who are full-time participants in the alternative community and students who are assigned full-time to the centre.

While one of the ultimate goals of the Program is growth in moral judgment, it is undoubtedly the most difficult to achieve and to measure. In any case, it may not be crucial for coping with problems encountered after release. The Program's cental commitment is to provide its students with the cognitive skills to more adequately make life decisions and the social skills to more adequately integrate themselves into society.

Formative Evaluations

There have been a number of internal formative evaluations conducted since the Program started in 1972. Probably the most important and significant are the annual studies based on interviews with students who have completed at least four months and usually not more than two terms in the Program. The main question in these interviews has been, "What effects, if any, has the Program had on you?" (See Appendix A). It was purposely open-ended in order to avoid leading the prisoner to respond in terms of the purpose of the Program and to allow for the reporting of unanticipated side effects. These evaluations when compared with similar evaluations of other education programs (Ayers, 1974, 1975, 1981), found students reporting significantly more cognitive and affective effects for the University of Victoria Program than for other programs including those involving university courses. In addition, nearly all of the effects for high school and up-grading programs were limited to educational effects such as learning a great deal about a subject.

There were two types of cognitive changes frequently reported by Program students. The first had to do with the style of perceiving problems. Students reported that they could not consider issues from several points of view rather than the single, ego-centric point of view typical of the prisoner. The second type of cognitive change reported was a greater awareness of the purposes and functions of society, its institutions and the individual's roles in society. These changes appear to be brought about primarily through the discussion of social, political and ethical issues that arise in humanities and social science courses.

There were three types of affective changes reported by Program students. The first had to do with reporting a better understanding of one's self and one's interpersonal relations. These changes seem to be associated with formal psychology courses, particularly those dealing with human relations, the study of plays in literature, and drama. Another type of affective change involved statements of expressions of commitment to study and learning which frequently included a note that nothing before had ever involved them to the same extent. This change was recognized by some as a commitment. Finally, there are a number of students that indicated more confidence or an increase in self-esteem. These statements are usually reported at the end of the first term, and only infrequently by students who had been in the Program for longer periods of time.

The findings of the interview studies suggested that growth would not only be promoted by making the Academic Centre into a "university community", but it would probably be strengthened and maintained. Even in the initial Donner study in 1972, there were a few evening supplementary sessions designed to expose students to the views of persons other than the instructors and to drama and classical music. In order to promote a University environment, the Program makes a consistent attempt to bring in university professors as visiting lecturers, and from time to time university students. The major thrust of these supplementary activities, however, is in the area of developing the Fine Arts through theatre courses connected with prison drama groups, through video-taping special programs and through bringing in a series of experimental and foreign films for film appreciation and criticism. Where possible, the video-tapes and films are integrated with the ongoing courses. Through the use of tape decks, too, students are exposed to a variety of music. Creative writing is promoted, not only in courses but by submitting work to the Prison Arts Foundation for evaluation, and by publishing a prison journal, the first edition being available for this conference.

Another aspect of the formative evaluation that has been conducted annually is the collection of performance data, primarily on drop-out and course completion. For the last three years it has been collected in a more comprehensive form. For each course, the number of prisoners/students initially registered, the number dropped, the number finishing, the number receiving credit, as well as the number of contact hours, is recorded. Appendix B reports the statistics for the Program from the Summer of 1978 to date, in both tabular and graphic form. Monthly reports to the Assistant Wardens of Education and Training also contain reasons for drop-out. A study of such data provides hypotheses for further study, for example, regarding ways and means to reduce drop-out. It also provides information for future course planning.

Further interpretation of the performance data requires additional information. For example, prison populations typically fluctuate and the nature of a prison population is in a constant state of flux. Thus, the ratio of students in a program needs to be related to some "standard" group to be meaningful, rather than to the total prison population. For example, the standard group should exclude persons in reception and protective custody as well as those close to release.

Starting in the fall of 1977, all instructors, full-time and part-time, as well as student tutors, have been evaluated by the students using a student rating scale. Appendix C contains a sample report. These evaluations, of course, allow one to be more selective in hiring instructors. Some very low ratings indicate that there should have been more careful initial selection. For some time, potential instructors have visited the prisons before they were hired and talked to the students about the courses that were going to be given. The low ratings for some instructors suggested that this procedure was not effective. As a consequence, the practice of having instructors give a formal thirty to forty-five minute presentation with follow-up discussion to a group of students, mostly senior ones with at least one full-time instructor present, was re-instituted.

The final example involving formative evaluation deals with the study of the relationship of marks on the tests of General Educational Development (GED) to marks in first-year courses (Ayers, 1980). Most students entering the UVic Program have passed the GED and at one time when institutions had well developed GED Programs and UVic instructors were assisting with the course in English expression, it was required. The study collected data over several years in order to obtain enough cases. The results showed that students require an average standard score of approximately 52, much lower than the unfairly high campus requirement of 58.5, but still higher than the minimum 45 required to obtain a Grade 12 certificate.

Several attempts have been made over the years to collect pre- and post intervention data, in particular using the REST Test as a measure of moral development and questions on reasons for entering the Program (see Appendix D) to determine student motivation for joining the Program. As with student ratings of instructors, it is very difficult to obtain more than fifty per cent cooperation. It is just not possible to "require" participation, and with new students, it is most important not to force "cooperation", as in the prison generally, but to encourage participation as in the outside world. It should also be noted that it is virtually impossible to find the true reasons for drop-out of many students; some just simply disappear, and others don't provide the information. At most, one can only propose an informed guess.

Summative Evaluation Strategies

A summative evaluation based on the classical or conventional research paradign, which uses hypothetical-deductive methodology derived from the experimental traditions of agriculture and psychology was rejected as inadequate for the purposes of evaluating a learning milieu involving a network of social, institutional, educational and psychological variables.

The experimental paradigm was used in the first study*(Parlett, Ayers and Sullivan, 1975; and Linden, Perry, Ayers and Parlett, 1980), which launched the University of Victoria Program in 1972 at British Columbia Penitentiary and Matsqui Institution. It proved to be very cumbersome and inadquate for a number of reasons. The major problem was that experimental and control groups were randomly assigned from volunteers, but these volunteers proved to be quite atypical of the groups in the respective prisons. As a consequence, this limited any findings to the characteristics of the unique volunteer group, thus denying generalization, the basic reason for using the experimental paradigm.

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* - Support by the Donner Foundation, the Correctional Service of Canada, and the University of Victoria.

Certainly one-group quasi-experimental designs, such as that proposed by Johnson (1980), can be used when there are a series of discrete short courses with large intakes. Such was not the situation with the UVic Program at Matsqui and most other prison educational programs where the intakes are small and at infrequent intervals. Thus, conventional experimental designs cannot readily be used for evaluating ongoing programs such as the UVic Program.

There were a number of other problems that developed during the first study that affected its design and conduct. For example, the conditions under which the Program operated changed significantly, particularly in one institution where the administration allowed the Program students to be located on the same range, thus introducing new social interactions within the student group and changing the convict-keeper relations. Other examples of problems were transfer or release before completion of the Program and refusal of a number of men in the control groups to be post-tested. In consequence, the experimental evaluation fell short of its own tacit claim to be controlled, exact, and unambiguous. These and other short-comings reviewed by Parlett and Hamilton (1976) indicate that the experimental paradigm with control groups is unsatisfactory for evaluating most educational programs.

An alternative, non-conventional, essentially qualitative or naturalistic evaluation procedure which is described more fully below, was chosen. Naturalistic evaluation approaches are experiencing a rebirth as viable alternatives to more conventional types of evaluation inquiry. Recent work by Eisner (1979), Stake (1974), Hamilton, et. al. (1977), Guba (1978), and Scriven (1976), has provided the philosophical rationale and methodological guidance for the use of naturalistic inquiry for evaluation purposes. It is certainly not the case that naturalistic evaluation replace more conventional experimental and quasi-experimental approaches, but it must be recognized that there are many settings in which the naturalistic approach permits more sensitivity to changes in time, people, and circumstances. The rationale and methods for naturalistic inquiry are based on procedures derived from the social sciences, particularly ethnography, and the humanities, particularly criticism, rather than the modes of inquiry in psychology and statistics.

Ethnography and criticism both rely upon direct observation of phenomena and are more concerned with description and interpretation than with measurement and prediction. In naturalistic evaluation, there is not a standard methodological package, but a general research strategy that aims to be both adaptable and eclectic. The choice of research procedure follows not from doctrine but from decisions in each case as to the best available technique. The problem defines the method used, and not vice versa.

For a follow-up study of former students in the UVic Program, it was deemed crucial that the views of the participants be discovered in order to assess the impact of the Program and as the Program occurred in a very complex learning melieu, the most appropriate techniques for determining the effects were interviews and questionnaires. These were, however, supplemented by documentary information, particularly in parole records. Finally, a quasi-experimental approach was used for studying reincarceration by selecting a comparison matched sample to the Program group.

Problems With Naturalistic Evaluations

First encounters with the radically different perspective of nonconventional evaluations prompts a number of important questions. Probably foremost among the questions is usually a concern about the "subjective" nature of the approach. It is suggested that personal interpretations cannot be scientific and that collection, analysis, and reporting of the data is entirely at the discretion of the researchers themselves.

Behind such questions lies a basic, but erroneous, assumption that conventional forms of research exist which are immune to prejudice, experimental bias and human error. This is not so. Judgment is necessary at every stage in the choice of samples, in the construction and selection of tests, in deciding the conditions of administration, and so on. Nevertheless, the extensive use of open-ended techniques and qualitative data in the qualitative approaches to evaluation still raises the possibility of gross partiality on the part of the investigator.

The extent to which the researcher has been "objective" should be available for scrutiny in the report stage. In addition to the findings, accurate descriptions of the research processes can be documented, theoretical principles and methodological ground-rules can be discussed and made explicit and criteria for selecting or rejecting areas of investigation can be spelled out and the evidence can be presented in such a way that others can judge its quality.

A closely related issue is the position of the investigator. There are many arguments, pro and con, for internal and external evaluation. For example, it is believed that external evaluators would have great difficulty in obtaining the cooperation of former students on the street. On the other hand, one could argue that the internal evaluator may only be told what he wants to hear. Being aware of the potential difficulties and sensitive to the situations in which the respondent is operating can minimize this possible source of bias. Previous experience with interviewing students in prison made the researchers aware that under particular circumstances, students can tell you what you want to hear or what they want to accomplish. However, on the street there is no need to purposely change the direction of responses, although there may be some exaggeration due to genuine interest in ensuring that the Program continues. Moreover, there were few refusals to participate and the quotations used throughout the report are characteristically open and straightforward although, of course, supportive of the value of the Program, probably for good reason.

Another problem confronting the evaluator in naturalistic studies such as this, is the fact of self-selection for entrance into the program. The experimental paradigm attempts to obviate this problem with a control group. However, what typically occurs in the prison situation is to use volunteers, but these are self-selected without necessarily knowing the basis on which there was self-selection. In the case of the University of Victoria Program, "motivation to join" may be the factor that contributes to the success of the University group. However, it may not be as important as at first glance because all prisoners are regularly required to select work locations. The University Program being an ongoing program is simply one of many that are available. In addition, most of the men have reported in the past that they did not enrol initially to get an education but somehow became hooked on education as they learned more and gained confidence or self-esteem. Moreover, the great majority of the men did not complete a high school education, thus joining the Program is usually more exploratory than directive.

One could also argue that "tenacity to continue" is another self-selection factor. Experience in the Program indicates that for any ten new students, four drop out early in the first month or so, even before they have made much effort to continue. Another one or two are transferred and about one in ten does not pass a course. This leaves three or four who complete the first term successfully. It should be noted that very few fail because of low scores on the Grade 12 equivalency Tests of General Educational Development (Ayers, 1980). Tenacity to continue has not been indicated in the interviews that have been conducted with students or with voluntary self-reports to instructors; rather, it is the stimulation and challenge of the courses, the building of self-esteem, and the open interaction with other prisoners and staff that is the usual explanation for continuing. Thus, it is believed that there is no more selection of students for the UVic Program than any other prison program due to motivation to join or tenacity to continue factors. Moreover, in the final analysis such criticisms or limitations are applicable to any other ongoing program operating in the prisons.

Nature and Scope of Follow-Up Study

Previous internal evaluations of the Program, as reported above, have indicated significant cognitive and affective changes in students during the first year in the Program. A follow-up study was conducted to determine if the effects are fragile and limited, or significant and long-term. The major strength of the follow-up study was that it was based not only on demographic data but also on what former students reported about their experiences and what they think these experiences have meant to them. It, therefore, combined a demographic sociological approach with a phenomenological approach. Moreover, since there have been many criticisms of using recividism and demographic data to measure the effectiveness of programs that have to do with both internal and external validity (Maltz & McCleary, 1977; Seashore, Haberfeld, Irwin & Baker, 1976), recividism is looked at in terms of reincarceration, particularly the factors that seem to reduce reincarceration. Also, since educational experience is typically very personal, the follow-up procedures were designed to get to the heart of the matter, the former students' own perceptions of their experiences. It was believed that this would be best achieved by an evaluation that involved program staff that were known and trusted, and research assistants who were unfamiliar, at least initially, with the specific goals of the program.

A copy of the standard questionnaire and a sample interview report may be found in Appendix E. The questionnaire, in addition to gathering certain demographic and sociological data, as well as reports on employment, education, and leisure, attempted to determine how most of these aspects differed from the situation prior to incarceration. In addition, there were a series of questions which attempted to determine if the students' perceptions of the world had changed and if so, what factors had contributed to the change. The specific questions used in the study are contained in the questionnaire form reported in Appendix E.

The basic research design combined a variety of methods for gathering data. In addition to the basic questionnaire which the former students completed, the interviewer described her perceptions of each student and his situation immediately following the contact with the student. In addition, background data on each participant was gathered from records and coded. This information included:

1. Age
2. Type of offence
3. Term - last aggregate sentence
4. Employed at time of last conviction?
5. Any addiction (of any kind) since last sentence
6. Educational level upon imprisonment
7. Family history in regard to:
   - alcoholic parents
   - criminal history of parents
   - orphan, foster homes
   - raised by other relatives
   - place of birth
8. Whether Canadian or other
9. Last occupation before entry into prison
10. Marital status
11. Recidivism - whether back in, what charge
12. Type of release, data
13. Whether first offence
14. Recividism Prediction Score
15. Nuffield Prediction of Recividism
16. Male Base Expectancy Scoring System

Sample and Procedure

In the initial planning for the study, it was decided to include as many former students as possible because it was recognized that the total number would be less than 100 and that sampling would therefore not be feasible. The criteria used and the reasons for them follow:

1. Subjects must have completed at least two courses totalling three units.

2. Subjects must have completed at least two terms or about seven and one-half months.

   (It was assumed that if students did not complete two courses and stay in the Program at least seven and one-half months, there was insufficient participation to attribute effects to the Program and not to other factors. It is interesting to note that only one person who completed a 1½ unit course in one term failed to complete 2 courses and remain in the Program for 2 terms.)

3. Subjects had to be released at least six months prior to the conclusion of the study and not more than four years, that is, from April 1, 1976 to October 1, 1979.

   (Most parole violations and reincarcerations occur within the first two years after release. Moreover, subjects would likely be more difficult to find the farther from release date, especially if as predicted, former students tend to establish new lives in new communities. In addition, recollection of prior events fades with time. However, a three and one-half year period would allow for trends over time, if any, to show in the data collected.

The questionnaire was designed to be self-administering as it was recognized that a number of students would have to be contacted by mail. Also, it was important to ensure that basic information critical to the follow-up was collected in as standardized a form as possible. There were several types of data collected: demographic-sociological, (Items 1 to 4. See Questionnaire form in Appendix E); employment, education and leisure data (Items 5 to 10); and finally perceptions of the effect of the Program on the respondent (Items 11 to 16).

It was also recognized that there could be unanticipated side-effects and that the person contacting the former students could bias the results. To this end, it was decided to employ an interviewer who had no prior connection or knowledge of the Program to act as a neutral observer and to collect any additional information volunteered by the subjects.

Of the 65 subjects who met the above criteria, 33 were interviewed and 7 returned questionnaires in the period October 15 - April 1. This constitutes the "Interviewed Group" of 40 respondents dealt with in detail in the full report (Ayers, Duguid, Montague, and Wolowidnyk, 1980). The remainder of the Eligible Group was composed of 25 non-respondents who were classified as follows:

Deceased	1
Refused interview	3
Contacted by phone but failed to return questionnaire	2
Questionnaire mailed to last known address and returned undelivered	5
Questionnaire mailed to last known address and not returned	6
Address available, but no trail	5
No address available	3

The Interviewed Group was shown to be quite similar to the Eligible Group of 65 on most of the variables used in the study.

The third criteria "released for six months" was originally interpreted strictly so that those still on day parole as of October 1, 1979 and those who had been reincarcerated within six months of release were excluded from the Eligible Group to be contacted for interviews. However, in order to obtain an accurate picture of reincarceration, eight additional cases were included to obtain the Total Group, used only in dealing with reincarceration. The analysis deals mainly, then, with the Eligible and Interviewed Groups.

Selection and Characteristics of Matched Group

Records at Matsqui Institution concerning admissions and releases were consulted and 161 names selected, based on date and type of release. It would have been desirable to use other variables such as type of crime. However, as only two variables can typically be used in matching, and as the study involved men released over a three and one-half year period, it was critical to include time of release as well as type of release as both are major factors in reincarceration.

A high degree of matching was achieved with fifty per cent of the subjects matched by type of release, and within one month by date of release. Over eighty per cent were matched within two months by date of release.

The matched group and eligible group were compared on a number of variables. There were no differences in terms of age, number of prior arrests, number of imprisonments, criminal history of family, Base Expectancy Scale, and Recividism Prediction Score. As would be expected, because of self-selection to the Program, the eligible group had significantly more education. For example, fifty per cent of the matched group had Grade 8 or less, but only twenty-five per cent of the eligible group. In addition, the eligible group had significantly more users of opiates; the matched group more users of alcohol. Related to this was the fact that the eligible group were more frequently sentenced for possession and trafficking, and the matched group for robbery and breaking and entering. Except for prior education, the eligible group from the University Program does not appear to start out with any advantage in terms of probable future success of its students, especially when one considers there were no differences between the eligible and matched groups on the Base Expectancy Scale and on the Recividism Prediction Score, despite these indices being weighted positively for education.

Results

The main findings of the follow-up study (Ayers, Duguid, Montague, and Wolowidnyk, 1980), indicate an unemployment rate of only three per cent, considerable change in residential, marital, and friendship patterns, and a reincarceration rate of only fourteen per cent. The rate for the matched group was four times as great, and for federal prisoners generally who have been released for a comparable period of time, it would be about three times as great.

Statements made by the men on the questionnaire and in the interviews, indicated cognitive growth and increasing sophistication of thought and reasoning ability. They report changes in attitudes towards politics, the law, criminal behaviour, friendships; changes which they report as crucial to their new found ability to cope with the stress of living in society. In most cases, the respondents attribute these attitude changes to their experience in the Program. One has only to talk to the former participants of the Program to be persuaded that there are significant changes in their perceptions of the world and their roles in it. This appears to be brought about by a process of habilitation, that is, by making up for deficits in intellectual, social, and moral development, through a program that develops cognitive thinking as a necessary condition for socialization and moral development.

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APPENDIX A

EVALUATION OF C.E.P.

Name ______________________________

Date of Interview ______________

Entered C.E.P. at ______________

in ______________________ , 19____

Current Courses

Schooling on Outside

Prior Schooling on Inside

General Question

What effects, if any, has the Program had on you? What has it done for you?

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF EDUCATION SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA AT MATSQUI, BCP/KENT, AND WILLIAM HEAD, 1978-81

The performance statistics for monitoring the UVIC Program are to include for each academic period, ending in the twelve-month period March 31, 1981, the following information:

(a) the identification of each course that was given, its duration, the nature of the credit involved, and the name of the teacher

(b) the number of inmates initially registered in each course

(c) the number of inmates who successfully completed each course

(d) the number of inmates who completed each course

(e) the number of inmates who started but did not complete each course

(f) the number of inmates remaining in each course

(g) the number of student contact hours per week for each professor

The basic data for the period ending March 31 is contained in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Data for the years 1978-79, and 79-80, will be found in Tables 4, 5, and 6.

Figure 1 summarizes the registrations, course completions and credits by term for BCP/Kent. It shows quite clearly that for several terms before BCP was closed, there was a significant drop in all of these statistics. However, since the program moved to Kent, there has been over all a fairly general increase in registrations and course completions, and only recently an increase in credits. When one considers the enormous difficulties faced by the students and instructors at Kent because of the lack of adequate facilites, and the continuous interruptions by custody, it is really quite surprising that it has been possible to even maintain the Program, let alone show improvements in the performance indicators. The maintenance of the program must be due to the excellency of the instructors and the interest of the students.

Figure 2 shows the registrations, course completions, and credits by term for Matsqui Institution from 1978 to 1981, and for William Head for the last two terms. A rather fluctuating pattern is revealed for Matsqui Institution except that the performance indicators all go up in the Spring Term. In the last several years, Matsqui Institution has been going through a period of transition, and in addition to being a medium/maximum institution, it is also a reception centre. This means that the potential number of prisoners available to be students is less now than it was a few years ago. Also, with the opening of William Head Institution, a number of students who would have stayed at Matsqui until released, have been transferred to William Head. It would appear, then, that Matsqui Institution program must be attracting a reasonable number of the potential students and holding them.

William Head Institution program is very new so that it is not appropriate to make many comments. However, it should be noted that the proportion of students in the University Program and in the GED Upgrading represent a very significant proportion of the total inmate population at William Head. In the spring term the University Program had 37 per cent of the prison population, and the GED Program had 8 per cent. In the summer term, the percentages are 23 and 12. In addition, there were five staff who took courses in the spring term.

One of the statistics that we might consider including in future reports is the percentage of the inmate population that are enrolled in the UVic and the GED Programs. Also, next year we will report the number of GED students who enrol in the program at William Head and the number that successfully complete the program and obtain certificates.

JDA/ds
June 5, 1981

Table 1
Enrolment, Dropouts, and Credits
by Courses & Institution
Spring Term 1981

Course	Instructor	Credit	Duration	Number of inmates initially registered	Number of inmates dropped	Number of inmates finished	Number of inmates receiving credit	Number of contact hrs per student per week
SPRING 1981	MATSQUI							
SS 088	P. Murphy G. Roy	0	Jan - Apr	28	17	11	11	3.0
Engl 099	P. Murphy K. Whetstone	0	" "	23	16	7	6	3.0
Engl 115	P. Murphy	1.5	" "	22	15	7	5	3.0
Engl 122	P. Murphy	1.5	" "	8	1	7	6	3.0
Thea 299/399	P. Payne R. Sauve	3.0	" "	27	11	16	12	5.0
Phil 201	R. Simpson	1.5	" "	16	7	9	4	3.0
Psyc 100	M. Wilensky G. Roy	3.0	" "	27	18	9	9	6.0
Psyc 330	R. Borrie	3.0	" "	10	2	8	6	6.0
Hist 480	W. Knights	3.0	" "	6	2	4	2	6.0
Psyc 339 (DR)	R. Borrie	1.5	" "	1	0	1	1	Dr. Rd.
				58	15	43	34	
	KENT							
SS 088	C. Cook	0	Jan - Apr	17	9	8	8	3.0
Engl 099	C. Cook	0	" "	14	9	5	2	3.0
Engl 115	C. Cook	1.5	" "	20	8	12	6	3.0
Engl 121	C. Cook	1.5	" "	8	3	5	4	3.0
Hist 205	E. Nellis	3.0	" "	13	5	8	6	6.0
Psyc 100	B. Talarico	3.0	" "	14	2	12	6	6.0
C.W. 201	B. Fawcett	3.0	" "	7	1	6	4	6.0
Hist 318	E. Nellis	3.0	" "	6	0	6	3	6.0
				33	9	24	15	
	WILLIAM HEAD							
SS 088	H. Hoekema J. Melendez	0	Jan - Apr	16	6	10	5	3.0
Engl 099	H. Hoekema M. Sartor	0	" "	7	2	5	2	3.0
Engl 115	H. Hoekema	1.5	" "	16	6	10	5	3.0
Engl 122	H. Hoekema	1.5	" "	9	4	5	5	3.0
Psyc 100	L. Mills	3.0	" "	13	3	10	9	6.0
Thea 299/399	P. Wagner	3.0	" "	22	8	14	13	5.0
Psyc 390 (DR)	R. Hoppe	3.0	" "	1	0	..	1	Dr. Rd.
Psyc 490 (DR)	L. Mills	3.0	" "	1	0	1	1	Dr. Rd.
		(totals include 6 CSC staff)		30	11	27	19	

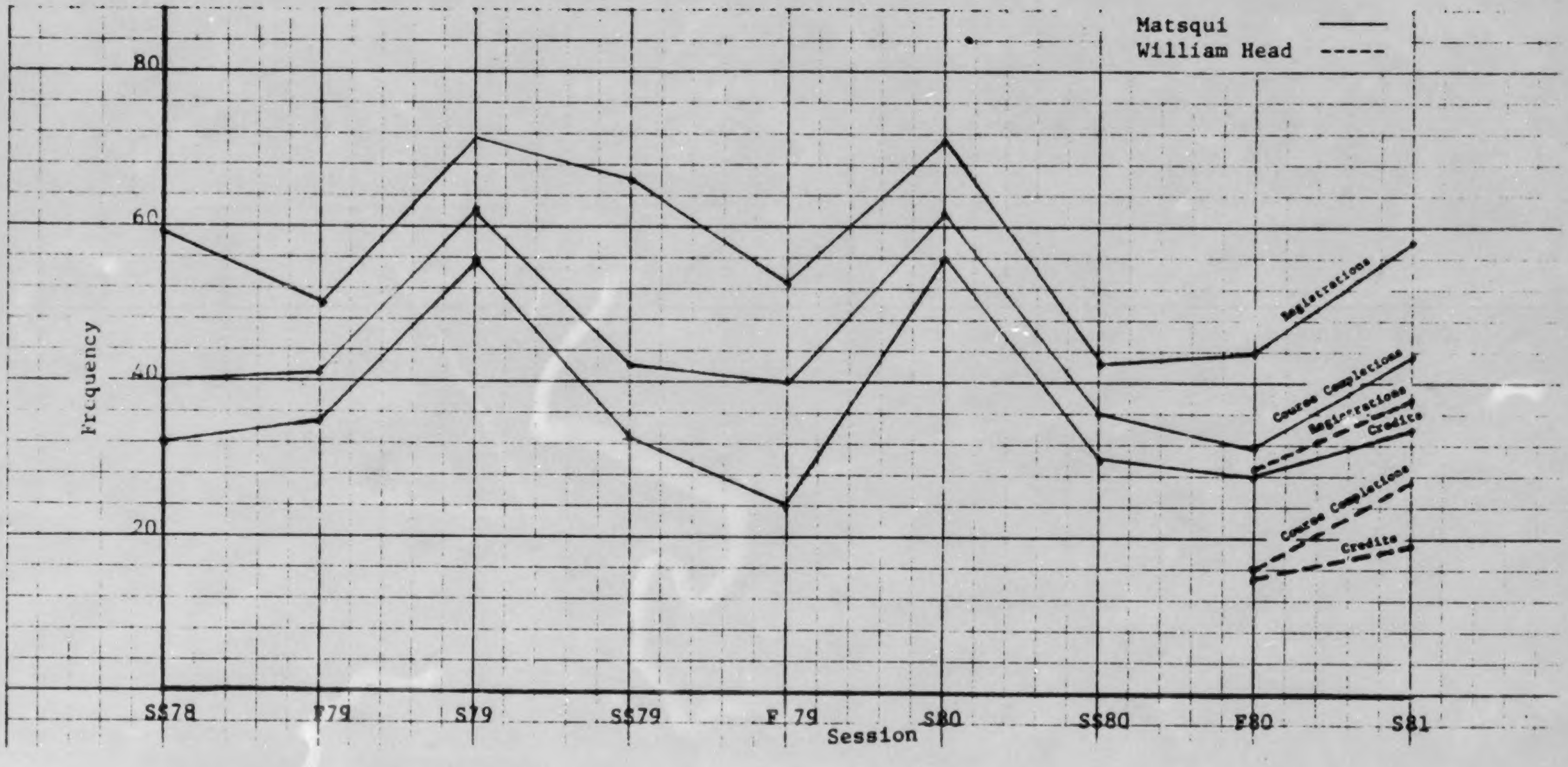

Figure 1. Registrations, course completions, and credits by term for Matsqui, 1978-81 and William Head, 1980-81.

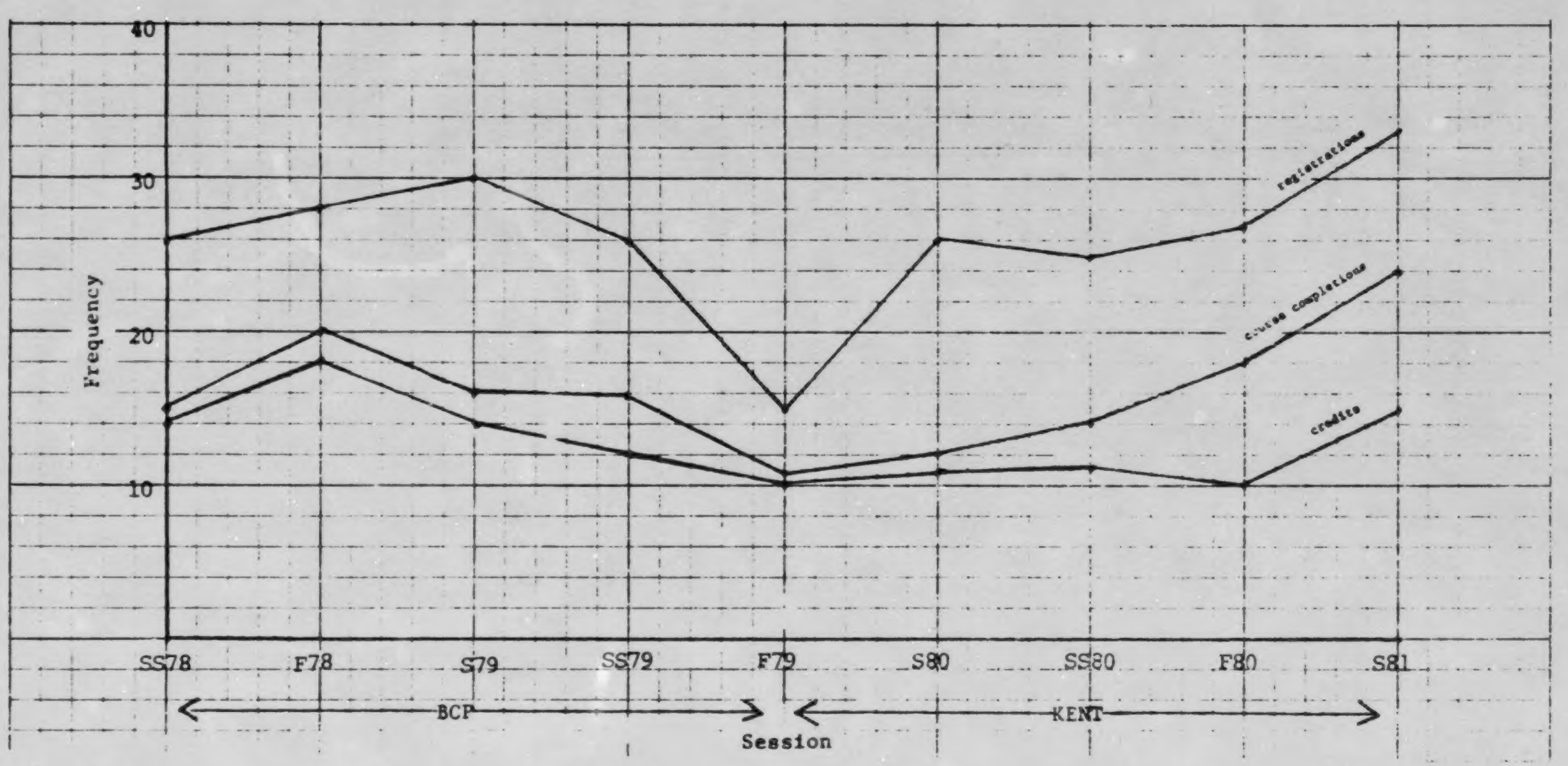

Figure 2. Registrations, course completions, and credits by term for BCP/Kent, 1978-81.

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF STUDENTS' PROFESSOR/COURSE EVALUATION

COURSE: PSYC 300

SESSION: WINTER 79-80
Fall Term

The Questionnaire was structured in two sections, one relative to "Course Material," the other to "Instructor" evaluation. Questionnaire data was therefore broken down so that opinion could be scored in each of these areas separately, as well as in the combined "Course/Instructor" category. In addition, two questions (5 & 15) were more appropriate for individual rating.

The Questionnaire statistics were divided into seven categories, each of which shows a separate computation. These are:

1. COURSE MATERIAL (Percentile of total responses) (Quest. 1 - 4)
2. INSTRUCTOR (Percentile of total responses) (Quest. 6 - 14)
3. COURSE/INSTRUCTOR (Percentage of individual ratings) (Quest. 15)
4. WORK LOAD (Percentage of individual ratings) (Quest. 5)
5. COURSE MATERIAL (Computed score) (Quest. 1 - 4)
6. COURSE/INSTRUCTOR (Computed score) (Quest. 1 - 4, 6 - 14)
7. INSTRUCTOR (Computed score) (Quest. 6 - 14)

The attached chart shows the number of opinions polled for each rating level for each of the 15 questions. The rating covers a range of possible responses from "Very Good" to "Very Poor." Each of these possible responses was assigned a letter grade from "A" to "E" and a value ranging from 5 to 1.

Percentiles were computed by dividing total responses into the number of responses at each rating level.

Percentages were computed by dividing the number of students polled into the number of students responding at each rating level.

Aggregate Scores in the Instructor and Course Material categories represent the number of students voting at each rating level and the sum total of these.

Highest Possible Scores represent the total possible responses in a category multiplied by the highest possible value (5). That is, the number of students polled times the number of questions in a category times 5.

Computed Scores were arrived at by dividing Aggregate Scores by Highest Possible Scores and multiplying by 5 to bring the result back to the scale of 1 to 5.

For example: In the "Instructor" category, an instructor who polled a "Very Good" rating from every student on every question in a class of 10 would score:

$$\frac{10 \times 9 \times 5}{450} = \frac{450}{450}$$

(where 10 = No. of Students
(9 = No. of Questions
(5 = Value of Each
(Response

The result would then be multiplied by 5 to bring the score back to the 1 - 5, E - A scale:

$$\frac{450}{} \times 5 = \underline{5} = \text{"}\underline{A}\text{"}$$

The Questionaires were distributed in Examination Rooms immediately before final examinations. Students were asked to put only the Course Number on the sheet to identify it. They were asked to print comments to ensure anonymity. Questionaires were returned directly to me, and as soon as results were recorded, I destroyed them. Results were kept confidential until submitted to the UVIC Coordinator.

STUDENTS' PROFESSOR/COURSE EVALUATION

NUMBER OF STUDENTS FINISHING COURSE: ______

NUMBER OF STUDENTS POLLED: 5

COURSE: PSYC. 300

SESSION: Winter 79-80 Fall Term

SCORE: (Scale 1 - 5) 3.58

LETTER GRADE B

BREAKDOWN & SUMMARY

Category 1 (COURSE MATERIAL):

Percentile (Total Responses):

"Very Good" 7

"Good" 6

"Fair/Average" 3

"Poor" ______

"Very Poor" 4

Category 2 (INSTRUCTOR):

Percentile (Total Responses):

"Very Good" 13

"Good" 18

"Fair/Average" 5

"Poor" ______

"Very Poor" 9

Category 3 (INSTRUCTOR/COURSE)

Percentage (Individual Assessments):

"Very Good" 40 %

"Good" 40 %

"Fair/Average" ______ %

"Poor" ______ %

"Very Poor" 20 %

Category 4 (WORK LOAD):

Percentage (Individual Assessments):

"Very Heavy" 40 %

"Heavy" 60 %

"Fair/Average" ______ %

"Light" ______ %

"Very Light" ______ %

Category 5 (COURSE MATERIAL):

Scored 72 out of possible 100

Computed Score: 3.6

Category 7 (INSTRUCTOR):

Scored 161 of possible 225

Computed Score: 3.58

Category 6 (COURSE & INSTRUCTOR):

Scored 233 of possible 325

Computed Score: 3.58

PROFESSOR/COURSE EVALUATION

SESSION: Winter, 1979-80 fall Term

COURSE: Psychology 300
NO. OF STUDENTS IN COURSE:
SAMPLE SIZE: 5

STUDENT OPINIONS RE: - COURSE MATERIALS (1–4) · TOTALS · RE: INSTRUCTOR (6–14) · TOTALS · 15

RATED:	1 RELATIONSHIP OF COURSE CONTENT TO CALENDAR OUTLINE	2 RELEVANCE OF TEXTS AND READINGS TO COURSE AND EXAMINATIONS	3 RELEVANCE OF EXAMINATIONS TO COURSE MATERIAL	4 AVAILABILITY OF OTHER RESOURCE MATERIAL	TOTALS RESPONSES	TOTALS PERCENTILE	TOTALS AGGREGATE SCORES	6 INITIAL EXPLANATION OF CONTENT GOALS/ORGANIZATION AND GRADING SYSTEM USED IN COURSE	7 AVAILABILITY FOR OUT-OF-CLASS INSTRUCTION	8 WILLINGNESS TO ANSWER QUESTIONS IN CLASS	9 PREPARATION & ORGANIZATION OF CLASS MATERIAL	10 WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER OTHER VIEWPOINTS	11 ABILITY TO EXPLAIN CONCEPTS AND PRINCIPLES IN LECTURES	12 GRADING PROCEDURES	13 ABILITY TO STIMULATE CLASS INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION	14 OVER-ALL TEACHING EFFECTIVENESS	TOTALS RESPONSES	TOTALS PERCENTILE	TOTALS AGGREGATE SCORES	15 OVER-ALL STUDENT RATING OF COURSE/INSTRUCTOR NO.	15 %
VERY ("A") GOOD	2	2	2	1	7	35%	35	1	1	3	2	2		1	2	1	13	29%	65	2	40%
GOOD ("B")	2		2	2	6	30%	24	3	3	1	2	1	3	3		2	18	40%	72	2	40%
FAIR-AVERAGE ("C")		2		1	3	15%	9					1	1		2	1	5	11%	15		
POOR ("D")																					
VERY POOR ("E")	1	1	1	1	4	20%	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	20%	9	1	20%
Assigned Values: A=5; E=1	5	5	5	5	20	100%	72	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	45	100%	161	5	100%

5

STUDENT OPINION OF WORKLOAD

RATED:	NO.	%
VERY LIGHT		
LIGHT		
FAIR-AVERAGE		
HEAVY	3	60%
VERY HEAVY	2	40%
	5	100%

COURSE MATERIAL:
HIGHEST POSS. SCORE 100
ACTUAL AGGREGATE SCORE 72

COURSE MATERIAL:
COMPUTED SCORE:
$(\frac{72}{100})5 = 3.6$

COURSE & INSTRUCTOR
HIGHEST POSS. SCORE: (5)x(13) x 5 = 325
ACTUAL AGG. SCORE: (72) + (161) = 233
COMPUTED SCORE: $(\frac{233}{325})5 = 3.58$
= (GRADE) B

INSTRUCTOR:
COMPUTED SCORE:
$(\frac{161}{225})5 = 3.58$

INSTRUCTOR:
HIGHEST POSS. SCORE
(5)x(9)x 5 = 225
ACTUAL AGG. SCORE 161

APPENDIX D

NAME D. Smith

QUESTIONAIRE FOR NEW ADMISSIONS TO U-VIC PROGRAM

A. Please list, in order of importance, your reasons for enroling in the Program. Please be as open as possible as this information will not be available to the institutions but only for our own research. If your primary reason is to improve your chances for parole or do easy time and not necessarily to get a general education to prepare for some post-secondary program on the street, then say so. List as many reasons as you wish. Remember, order is most important.

1. BEING AN [illegible], I FIND THIS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOMETHING NOW THAT I NEITHER HAD THE TIME OR THE INCENTIVE TO DO ON THE STREET. TO IMPROVE MY EDUCATION.
2. AS I AM NOT INTERESTED IN VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS OR BUILDING HOUSES OR FURNITURE FOR THE GOVERNMENT THIS IS AN EXCELLENT WAY OF DOING TIME.
3. AS THE GOVERNMENT HAS SEEN FIT TO KEEP ME HERE I FEEL THAT I SHOULD TRY AND GET SOMETHING OUT OF THIS TIME. I'LL BE DAMNED IF I WILL DO ANYTHING FOR THE GOVERNMENT.
4.

B. What do you expect to get out of the program? How might it affect you?

A BROADER RANGE OF KNOWLEDGE

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA PROGRAM

NAME: ______________________________

Date of Release: ______________________

Date of Completion of Parole
or Mandatory Supervision: ______________

Type of Release:
(a) Day Parole:
(b) Maximum Parole:
(c) Mandatory Parole:

---

1. Are you living in the same area as before your last sentence?

	Check One
In same district, part of city or town	☐
In adjacent district, part of city or town	☐
More than 25 miles away	☐
More than 100 miles away or in a different province . .	☐

2. (a) At present do you:

(Circle & Join)

Rent	House
Own	Apartment
	Townhouse
Lease	Suite

(Circle & Join)

	Car
Own	Boat
	Camper
	Motorcycle
Lease	Van
	Truck

(b) How is this different from before your last sentence?

____

____

____

3. (a) With whom have you lived since release?
(Opposite appropriate relationships on left, fill in dates as exactly as you can remember).

Relationship	Period of Association	
	From	To
Parents		
Wife		
Brother or Sister		
Other Relative		
Former Common Law		
New Common Law		
Alone		
Other ( )		

3. (b) How is this different from before your last sentence?

4. (a) If you have returned to the family relationship that you had before your last sentence, how are things going compared with before?

Check One:

Better than before . . . . ☐

About the same as before . . . . ☐

Worse than before . . . . ☐

(b) Are the people who are your friends now the same as before your last sentence?

Check One:

Nearly all the same . . . . ☐

About half the same . . . . ☐

Very few the same . . . . ☐

5. (a) What job(s) have you had since release?
(Fill in like sample. Give dates as exactly as you can remember. If unemployed, also indicate period.)

Type of Job	Location	Period of Employment (or unemployment)	
		From	To
(e.g.) Mill Worker	Campbell River	15 Jan. 1977	20 June 1977

5. (b) In the past year, how many days of holidays have you had? ________

Did you spend them in: Canada Europe U.S. Other ( )

How did you spend them: Skiing Camping Hunting Sightseeing

Visiting Family Visiting Friends

Other ( )

6. Fill in the number of courses you completed in each of the following subjects:

ANTHROPOLOGY ☐ ENGLISH ☐ HISTORY ☐ PSYCHOLOGY ☐ SOCIOLOGY ☐ PHILOSOPHY ☐

THEATRE ☐ SCIENCE ☐ MATHEMATICS ☐ OTHER ________________

7. (a) What schooling have you taken since release?

School	Course or Program	Period of Schooling	
		From	To

7. (b) If education was not continued, what best characterizes the reason?

Lack of interest . . . .
Financial Difficulties . . . .
Family Considerations . . . .
Problems in Adjusting to University/College . . . .
Other (________________) . . . .

8. What language was/is spoken at the home of:

	English	French	Other (specify)
Your parents			
You and your spouse . . .			
Parents of spouse			

9. List the occasions in the last six months when you attended:

Movies: ______________________________

Sports Event(s) __________________________

Dances ______________________________

Theatre ______________________________

Opera ______________________________

Concert ______________________________

Museum ______________________________

10. In a typical week, how many hours do you spend:

	Hours Per Week
Reading	
Gardening	
Watching T.V.	
Repair Work	
Playing Sports	
In a pub	

11. Explain in a few sentences how the U-Vic program had an impact, if any, on your perceptions of each of the following:

Check if Changes were due mainly to: (rank 1-2-3)

	Nature of Impact	Fellow Students	Courses/Readings	Instructor
(a) Basic human nature				
(b) Marital Relations				
(d) Household Management				
(e) Family Relations				
(f) Friendship				

11. Continued -

Explain in a few sentences how the U-Vic program had an impact, if any, on your perceptions of each of the following:

Check if Changes were due mainly to:

	Nature of Impact	Fellow Students	Courses/Readin	Instruct
(g) Criminal Behavior				
(h) Politics				
(i) Business				
(j) Religion				
(k) Race				

12. Who helped you most in prison? Rank the first three.

	Rank
Psychologist	___
Classification Officer	___
Counselor	___
Living Unit Officer	___
U-Vic Staff	___
Other Teachers	___
Fellow Students	___
Other Prisoners	___
Custody Officer	___
Visitors	___
Chaplain	___
Other (Fill in ____________________)	___

13. Did your participation in the U-Vic program have any influence on your employment decisions, including:

(a) Your choice of employment: ____________________

(b) Obtaining employment: ____________________

(c) Avoiding certain types of employment: ____________________

14. To what extent were post-release plans that were made while in the program acted upon after release?

Which plans are still in the making:

What are the main difficulties you are encountering in realizing these plans?

15. List recommended changes to the U-Vic program and your reasons:

16. Did the program have an impact on the way you view power relations between people, and between people and institutions? How?

17. Do you have any additional comments you wish to make?

WAYS AND MEANS OF MEASURING PERFORMANCE

W. Todd Rogers

Introduction

The Education and Training Division, Penitentiaries of the Canadian Correctional Service of Canada is responsible for providing appropriate opportunities for accredited academic and vocational education to inmates in federal penitentiaries who are able and willing to benefit from such education.[1,2,3] This mandate is met by offering educational (academic and vocational) programs designed to meet the goals of the Education and Training Division and to reflect the policies and guidelines of the provincial ministries of education and labour.[4]

Among their tasks, members of the Division's National Headquarters are responsible for determining the effectiveness of the Education and Training program. Additionally, Regional Headquarters' staff are responsible for monitoring, by frequent personal inspection and on-going analysis of results, the administration of the penitentiary schools and implementation of the academic and vocational programs in their regions.[5]

In January, 1981 the Solicitor-General of Canada established a Task Force[a], under the direction of the Education and Training Division, National Headquarters, to provide assistance with the "development and establishment of a system for measuring educational performance in our education and training program".[6] The system, to be implemented by the Division's National Headquarters as part of their overall education and training responsibility, was to be designed to yield performance data appropriate for assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of the education and training programs in meeting their objectives. Referred to as Performance Measurement, the system was also to provide, as far as possible, a data base for program evaluation (in which the appropriateness of the objectives as well as performance are examined).[7]

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[a] Task Force members were: W. Todd Rogers (Chairman), Fernand Gauthier, Leslie D. McLean, and Thomas O. Maguire.

Early analysis of the nature of the activities and operations associated with the present academic and vocational programs revealed that, to be most useful, a performance measurement system would need to be sensitive to institutional, regional, and national information needs and capabilities. Consequently, a substantial portion of the Task Force's time and effort was devoted to reviewing the operations of the academic and vocational programs at the local level. No attempt was made to assess or evaluate each, or any, individual program. Rather the focus of the Task Force's review was upon existing measurement and evaluation (individual and program) operations and needs within education and training, with the intent of identifying possible components of a performance measurement system which, when taken together, would provide credible, timely information at the institutional, regional, and federal levels. Consideration was given to existing practices and data with the hope that such procedures and data could be incorporated into any new system, thereby reducting the amount of additional work and costs needed to perform performance measurement.

Before proceeding, a brief description of the Education and Training program is in order. Indeed, this is the program to be assessed with the performance measurement system.

Overview of Education and Training Program

The total Education and Training program can be classified into six general categories. These categories[b] are as follows:

1. Basic Literacy Training required to meet testing at the Grade V Level

   The intent of the basic program is to improve the reading, communication skills, and computational skills of inmate students who are functionally illiterate. On completion, the student will be able to read, write, and perform basic calculations at a level corresponding to the regular school fifth grade.

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[b] Adapted from Enrolment in the Education and Training Program for March 31, 1981.

2. Prerequisite Courses for Admission to Vocational Training, Apprenticeship Programs, or University Degree Programs

   These are intended to provide the opportunity for students to develop the knowledge and skills necessary for admission to vocational training, apprenticeship programs, and to university degree programs (including GED preparatory courses and BTSD).

3. Academic and Vocational Courses Carrying Credit Toward Secondary School Graduation

   Corresponding to the last two years of secondary school, the purpose of these courses is to provide students with the opportunity to complete high school. Included within the program are academic and vocational courses which carry credit toward high school graduation for the province in which the institution is located.

4. Other Vocational Courses

   The goal of these courses is the development of job related skills to the level of provincial Departments of Education or Labour certification. This is accomplished within the institution through a combination of practical on-the-job training and theorietical classroom experience and, in some cases, apprenticeship courses. Examples of such training courses include automotive, barbering, carpentry, electrical, horticulture, machine shop, printing, sheet metal, and welding.

5. Post-Secondary Academic

   This group of programs includes courses available to the inmates for which they can gain academic credit in their regular diploma programs of CEGEPS or Community Colleges and those which carry credit towards a university degree.

6. Correspondence Course Program

   Education needs of inmates which cannot be satisfied by the instructional programs that are offered may be satisfied by providing academic and vocational correspondence courses from appropriate outside agencies (e.g., provincial ministries of education, International Correspondence School).

Organized educational programs are offered in 22 federal penitentiaries. It must be noted, though, that all programs are not offered in all institutions. Students elect to enrol in Education and Training, with placement determined on the basis of pre-testing, previous training, and/or previous work experience.

METHODOLOGY

The Task Force used a variety of approaches to learn about education and training in general and the present testing, assessment, and evaluation practices in particular. Table 1 provides an overview of the Task Force's information acquisition procedures and sources of data.

TABLE 1

Methods and Sources of Data

Source	Method: Interviews	Method: Attendance at Meetings	Method: Analysis of Documents and Related Literature
National Headquarters	*	*	*
Regional Headquarters	*	*	*
Institution			*
Assistant Warden	*	*	
Academic and Vocational Supervisors	*		
Prisoners	*		
Other (Representatives of Parole Service, John Howard Society, University & College Apprenticeship Boards)	*		

Upon advice, interviews were not conducted with senior officials beyond the National Headquarters of the Education and Training Division.

Summary of Findings

Before presenting and discussing the three components which the Task Force recommended as the basis of an effective performance measurement system, it is perhaps useful to share some perceptions gained from the interviews and which served to shape our thinking when developing our suggestions and recommendations. These were the issues which needed to be taken into account when developing a system responsive to institutional, regional, and national needs.

1. All respondents felt that academic and vocational education was a legitimate form of inmate employment. There was, however, a strong feeling within the Education and Training staff at the institutional, regional, and national levels that senior personnel of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) did not share this belief with the same degree of enthusiasm

and that senior CSC personnel favoured more the industry sector.

2. There was remarkable agreement among the respondents about the general purposes and intents of education summarized briefly on pages 2 and 3 of this paper. The development of adequate reasoning skills and appropriate value structures so that, upon release, inmates would be better able to conform to the law and assume their responsiblities as citizens was identified as an additional goal by many of the respondents.

3. More specific course and program objectives correspond to those of appropriate agencies and government departments responsible for trade, vocational, and academic education within the province in which each penitentiary is located. Consequently, in light of provincial autonomy, programs and specific courses vary among the institutions between regions in accordance with the variation in provincial requirements. Likewise, there is corresponding variation in the content and organization of the courses offered. CSC policy is that, to take advantage of existing curricula and credit systems, education and training in penitentiaries will be keyed to provincial programs. All respondents agreed with this policy, further pointing out that inmate students must achieve at a level acceptable "on the street"; otherwise their education and training will be considered with suspicion and distrust. Several educational courses and programs are conducted by external agencies under contract to the CSC; the remaining are manned by CSC staff.

4. Initial academic standing (defined in terms of previously completed education and/or training) of inmates differs considerably among the institutions across Canada. Several respondents noted that these differences contributed to the variation among penitentiary programs, and would need to be accounted for in any inter-penitentiary comparisons arising from performance measurement.

5. Enrollment in academic and vocational courses tends to fluctuate more than enrollments in non-institutional settings. Based upon the results obtained during induction, a recommendation is formulated and given to the inmates regarding initial placement and program development phases. However, each inmate has the freedom to elect his work assignment, providing adequate space is available. In some instances, inmates electing academic or vocational education may have to wait until the course is next offered; in other cases, entry to a course is continuous and may take place at any time. Inmates, after initial placement, may request a transfer to another work location through their living unit officers. Inmates may fail to complete a course for several reasons such as transfer to another work location because of poor performance or disruptive behaviour, transfer to another institution, and granting of parole.

6. Reports of education and training over the last five years have consisted of counts descriptive of the enrollment and attendance picture for the reporting period. Both monthly and quarterly reports are prepared. Academic and Vocational Supervisors, Assistant Wardens, and Regional Managers rated the utility of these reports low due to the incompleteness and lack of uniformity. Some performance data appear to be reported to Regional and, subsequently, National Headquarters. Other performance scores obtained on credentialing tests administered by outside agencies

apparently are not forwarded beyond the institution, with few exceptions. On occasion institutions receiving a transfer request a copy of the inmate's file. These arrangements, though, appear to be made on an ad hoc basis.

Institutional staff questioned the utility of present site visits by representatives of external accrediting agencies and by staff from Regional and National Headquarters for improving the effectivness of education and training. Concerns were raised regarding the regularity and comprehensiveness of such visits. Institutional officials generally complained about the lack of feedback from higher levels, and indicated that there was little inter-institutional communication. They felt this second lack led to unnecessary duplication of effort.

Regional and National Headquarters officials raised concerns regarding the receptivity of institutional officials, citing the apparent indifference of institutional officials toward regional and national suggestions for improvement and new initiatives. Education and Training staff members at the institutional, regional, and national levels typically rated their own levels of knowledge of and competency in testing and evaluation, in general, and performance measurement, in particular, as low. There was, though, good agreement regarding the purposes toward which these activities should be directed, specifically program improvement.

There was general agreement that a performance measurement system should permit monitoring the progress of education and training at both the student and program level, making comparisons with relevant "outside" groups, and making comparisons among regions with recognition of inherent regional differences.

Valid post-release studies were also suggested. The proportion of inmates who assumed a job upon release which required among its pre-requisites the completed school or vocational program, recidivism rate, friendship circle, and brushes with the law were identified as relevant variables for such studies.

The Task Force gained the impression from the interviews that there is a degree of confusion and frustration with testing and evaluation. The contention of several interviewees was the findings from previous evaluations and assessments were either non-relevant or, in those cases where significant data had been collected, were inappropriately applied. Concern was also raised concerning the present line-functional authority dichotomy existing in the CSC. Despite these concerns, there was good support from all respondents (both from within and without the penitentiaries) for a performance measurement system emphasizing program quality and supplying the necessary feedback for the integrated and developmental growth of programs while at the same time providing system-wide performance data necessary for regional and national level needs and decisions (e.g., allocation of funds; identification of new program areas).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Task Force fully agreed that a performance measurement system designed to yield data indicative of the effectiveness of education and training offered in Canadian penitentiaries was needed, and that the system must be sensitive to the issues summarized above. Thus, the Task Force recommended a system comprising three components - national monitoring, site assessment, post-release study - which, when taken together, would provide a continuous and comprehensive portrayal and assessment of the total education and training program and its parts.

The recommended performance measurement system components are briefly described in this paper. It is not possible to present the full description, given the total length of the full report. Interested readers are, therefore, referred to the full report for additional information and examples[c].

National Monitoring Component

In response for the need for data at the national level which can be used to continuously describe both the efficiency and the effectivness of the Education and Training Program, the Task Force proposed a national monitoring component featuring the use of pertinent social indicators. Based for the most part upon data already collected at the institutional level and reported to Regional Managers, and, subsequently, National Headquarters, what is proposed is the regular use of social indicators to monitor the performance of the education and training programs and effort.

For the purposes of performance measurement the term "indicator" was defined as "a descriptor, written in quantifiable terms, of the status at a specified point in time of a significant condition or variable which provides evidence useful for an analysis of progress towards a goal or objective".[8] Several different classifications of social indicators have been presented in the literature (see Baker[9], Henderson[10], O.E.C.D.[11]). One classification system well suited to the purposes of a national monitoring system is based upon their use. Input indicators describe variables over which an institution has some control and which affect the institution's ability to achieve its goals. Context indicators describe conditions over which an institution has little or no control. Performance indicators describe a measureable or observable variable used to determine program effectiveness or efficiency. Indicators can be further classified according to their form. Direct count indicators involve counting the number of units or inmates with a particular condition. Derived indicators are based upon the simultaneous consideration of two or more direct count indicators.

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[c] Development of a Performance Measurement System for the Education and Training Program, Correctional Service of Canada, available from the Education and Training Division, Penitentiaries, Correctional Service of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0P9.

Illustrations

The examples presented below are quite detailed (disaggregated) compared to social indicators such as the unemployment index (a highly aggregated indicator). Disaggregated indicators are best suited for national monitoring, as noted by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development[12]. They list three purposes of disaggregation:

1) normative considerations (attention to moral, ethnical or legal issues relative to subgroups),
2) explanatory requirements for possible causes of variation in the condition described by an indicator, and
3) the practical requirements of programme monitoring and evaluation --that is, to those influencing factors amenable to policy intervention.

Direct count indicators classified by use:

Examples of direct count indicators, categorized by use, include: number of study spaces in an institution's school facility or work spaces in the printing shop (input indicator); number of inmates on a course waiting list (context indicator); number of inmates enrolled in a particular course (performance indicator); number of students who receive an accredited welding certificate (performance indicator); and rate of absenteeism (performance indicator). These data may appear easy to get and to interpret. Unfortunately this is not true, particularly in penitentiary education, and care must be taken to interpret and collect direct count indicators accompanied by adequate explanations in such a way that they accurately reflect education and training performance. One example, dropout count,is used to illustrate this concern.

> Generally speaking, in education outside the penitentiary the number of dropouts is used as a mark of program failure. While it is true that inappropriate programs do tend to have many dropouts, in the prison education and training setting dropouts are caused by many factors, not all of which are educational in origin. Thus when using the number of dropouts as an indicator of program or course performance, care must be taken to

categorize the cause of the dropout. The following example serves to further illustrate the above point: An inmate at Stony Mountain was taking a course administered through the Winnipeg Adult Education Centre. The term of his incarceration expired before he had a chance to complete the course. He would therefore appear as a dropout statistic. However, upon leaving the penitentiary he continued with the course at the Winnipeg Centre. Such a dropout should be classified as an educational "success". The decision to dropout was externally made, was educationally sound, and he left passing.

Derived count indicators classified by use:

The following examples are provided to give some idea of derived indicators appropriate for use in performance measurement.

A. Indicators related to education and training capacity and efficiency

The following four basic derived indicators could be computed for each institution offering education and training:

i)

$$\text{E \& T Capacity (hours)} = \text{Sum (over days or weeks)} \left[\text{No. of inmate places available in E \& T} \ \text{X} \ \text{No. of hours that day} \right]$$

Note: The number of school hours varies by institution and by day due to special conditions (Collins Bay locks the inmates up if a thick fog comes in, for example). "X" indicates multiplication.

ii)

$$\text{Number of School Hours per Month} = \text{Sum (over days)} \left[\text{Number of Active Teachers that day} \ \text{X} \ \text{No. of hours that day} \right]$$

Note: Number of teachers varies from day to day due to illness or duty assignments.

iii)

$$\text{Number of Eligible Inmate Hours} = \text{Sum (over days)} \left[\left(\text{No. inmates present} - \text{No. of exclusions from inmate employment} \right) \text{X} \ \text{No. of hours that day} \right]$$

iv)

$$\text{Number of Inmate Hours in E \& T} = \text{Sum (over days)} \left[\text{No. Full time inmates that day} + \left(\text{No. Part-time inmates} \ \text{X} \ \text{Avg. Part-time proportion} \right) \right] \text{X} \ \text{No. of hours that day}$$

Note: Many variations will make this less precise than available school hours.

The first index is an example of an input indicator. It describes the maximum number of hours for education and training available during the reporting period. The second indicator, dependent upon the availability of teachers, is a context descriptor. Similarly the third indicator is dependent upon the availability of prisoners: prisoners may be excluded because of illness, court appearance, punishment, or some other such reason. The remaining example describes output: the actual education and training hours accrued during the reporting period.

More useful performance indicators may be derived by combining the four indicators listed above. Dividing the second indicator by the first, for example, provides a measure of Facility Utilization (an output indicator):

Facility Utilization = (School Hours)/(Capacity)

Other examples include:

Vacancy Rate = 1 - (Inmate Hours)/(Eligible Hours)
E & T Ratio = (Inmate Hours)/(Eligible Hours)
Time Utilization = (Inmate Hours)/9Capacity)

These indices provide a measure of the efficiency of a particular program of course, and they can be used to make inter-regional and inter-institutional comparisons.

Two additional examples are presented to illustrate the scope of use to which indicators may be put. The first relates to educational and training potential, while the second is related to student performance.

B. Indicators related to education and training potential. A possible indicator of an institution's potential for education and training is the Education and Training Status indicator. This indicator requires that all inmates be classified with reference to their academic standing and their amenability toward education and training. The data collected are summarized in a manner similar to the sample illustrated in the following two way, four-by-four table:

Responsiveness to Education and Training		Academic Standing				
		Basic 1	Intermediate 2	Secondary 3	Post-Secondary 4	Total N
0	None	25	23	15	2	65
1	Low	30	24	15	3	72
2	Moderate	30	20	15	4	69
3	High	15	8	15	6	44
Total	N	100	75	60	15	250

Note: The numbers in the cells correspond to the number of inmates who have the characteristics indicated by the corresponding row and column headings. For example, as shown in the lower right-hand cell, there are six highly willing inmates who have completed high school (out of the total of 250 inmates).

The Task Force found that categorization of inmates similar to that used in the above illustration is now implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) done. The Academic Standing categories correspond to four stages associated with the academic development of a person. In the example, an inmate would be classified as basic if he does not have a Grade 5 education; intermediate if he does not have a Grade 10 education; secondary if he has not graduated from high school; or post-secondary if he has graduated. Even though an inmate may not enroll for an academic program, he nevertheless has an academic standing (estimated from scores on the School and College Ability Test, last school grade completed, or during the Induction process). It is recognized that the determination of the responsiveness of an inmate toward education and training is somewhat more problematic and will require more attention. Similar rating scales were found in the Grading Report used by the Pay Board or in the Institution's Caution Slip used for determining remission. It is perhaps best that, at least for now, no more than four categories should be used. The essential goal is comparability among institutions, and agreement is more likely with a few categories.

Turning now to the use of the grid, the columns are assigned the numbers 1 through 4 beginning with the basic level. For the rows the numbers 0, 1, 2, and 3 are used, with 0 representing not responsive and 3 highly responsive. An overall index of an Education and Training Status is formed from the two dimensions of the grid as follows:

$$\text{E \& T Status} = \frac{1}{\text{Number of Inmates}} \times \underset{\text{(over cells)}}{\text{Sum}} \left[\text{No. of Inmates} \times \text{Academic Standing Number} \times \text{Responsiveness} \right]$$

The Education and Training Status indicator is defined with special reference to the likelihood of successfully completing a course or program (given the length of stay in the institution is sufficient). The "higher academic, more willing" cells contain inmates who have previously succeeded in "high" academic levels and possess a cooperative, highly motivated attribute to succeed. This is why the six highly responsive post-secondary students are each weighted by the maximum possible value - 4 X 3 = 12. Nonresponsives, on the other hand, do not contribute to the sum since they refuse to even consider education and training as viable employment; the likelihood of their successfully completing any form of education and training is zero. They do, however, pull the value of the overall institution's Education and Training Status down because they are included in the denominator. This division by the total number of inmates allows comparison of the Education and Training Status among institutions and across time. The Education and Training Status of the example institution is 2.79. An institution with only moderately responsive, functional illiterates would have a status of 1.00; an industrious, post secondary prison population would rate a 12.00.

The Education and Training Status variable is an attempt to index the educational climate in terms of inmate educational characteristics as simply as possible. Regional and National Headquarters staff would have quite different expectations for a 2.79 institution than for a 7.41 institution. As such, this indicator serves as a context descriptor.

C. Indicators related to education and training outcomes

An example of a performance indicator of student achievement is the Number of Inmate Quality Points. This indicator is designed to capture inmate achievement regardless of whether or not a formal course or program is completed or not. The formula is:

$$\begin{array}{l}\text{No. of Inmate}\\ \\ \text{Quality Points}\end{array} = \begin{array}{l}\text{Sum}\\ \text{(over units)}\end{array} \left[\frac{\text{Mark (each unit)}}{\text{(No. units per course) X (Max. mark that unit)}} \right]$$

Note: Division by No. of units multiplied by maximum mark converts all marks to a common scale so that aggregation is possible over courses, institutions, and regions.

A "unit" is any small curriculum module or shop task that receives a mark. Because of the necessity for continuous intake and the fact of frequent interruptions, education and training activity is frequently broken into small units. Academic lessons are often finished with a test and shop tasks with a rating by the teacher. The Nova Scotia Department of Adult Vocational Education "Dacum" charts are a particularly formal example, though every class and shop seemed to have something like this. A course might have 20-100 (or more) units. Until completed, a unit has mark zero. Completion of many units is required for any certificate or diploma. Thus, by this definition, a certificate or diploma is not considered a unit for the number of Inmate Quality Points.

Site Assessment Component

In visits to various penitentiaries across the country, a wide range of educational programs designed to meet differences among inmate populations both within and between different institutions was found. This variation made it very difficult to design a single component assessment program that would adequately answer both the needs of system-wide monitoring and individual penitentiary education and training program improvement requirements. Accordingly, for each institution offering education and training programs, the Task Force recommended that site assessments be made for the purpose of appraising existing facilities, practices, and outcomes. a) Each institution offering educational programs should be assessed every three years, with six or seven institutions assessed each year. b) Each site assessment team should be appointed by the Director of Education and Training, National Headquarters in consultation with the appropriate Regional Manager and consist of:

(i) A person who is currently employed by the CSC outside the region in which the penitentiary to be assessed is located and who is either presently an administrator or formerly an administrator in the Education and Training Division, and who is not a member of the Education and Training National Headquarters staff;

(ii) Two experts in the education of adults, one whose primary orientation and experience is in the academic area, the other whose primary orientation and experience is in the vocational or trade areas. Both members should be cognizant of the grading and certification requirements appropriate to the province in which the penitentiary to be assessed is located;

(iii) The Assistant Warden, Education and Training from the penitentiary being assessed; and

(iv) The Chief, Educational Assessment Services, National Headquarters.

Through the use of site assessments, information unique to each situation will become available which can be used to improve the education and training programs in the institution being assessed. At the same time information descriptive of the strengths and weaknesses of programs within the penitentiaries will be made available to regional and federal educational officials. From such descriptions, adjustments in goals, programs, and resource allocations can be made at higher levels.

The use of a three year cycle recognizes the need for regularly scheduled visits and the practicalities of time and dollar resources. It allows sufficient time for individual institutions to make necessary adjustments between assessments.

The assessment team must consist of people who are credible to both the staff and inmates of the institution being assessed, and to those beyond the programs such as the remaining staff and management of the institution, the Regional Manager and National Headquarters staff, Education and Training, and the Senior Management Committee. Inclusion of the Assistant Warden from the institution being assessed and a chairman from outside the region should help enhance inter-institution inter-regional communication.

To provide a flavour of the purpose and procedures of site assessment, a series of sample questions, organized in terms of various facets of an education and training program and toward which the site assessment should direct its attention, is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Site Assessment

Sample Questions

A. Administration

1. Is the administration of Education and Training through the Assistant Warden and Supervisors of Academic and Vocational Education clear, facilitative, and effective?
2. Is there evidence of coordination between Education and Training and other divisions, such as industry, security, maintenance, within the institution?
3. Is there evidence of coordination between academic and vocational education?
4. Is there evidence of coordination within the academic program and within the vocational program?
5. Are the activities of the contracting agencies administered efficiently?
6. Do the contractors understand the goals and philosophies of Education and Training within this penitentiary's setting?
7. Are the activities of the outside contractor being monitored effectively?
8. Has there been much turnover in staff during the last three years? If so, why?
9. Is the secretarial staff adequate for the support of Education and Training activities?
10. Is there regular contact with the Regional Office, Education and Training?
11. Is there regular contact with National Headquarters, Education and Training?
12. Does communication flow in both directions?
    What is the nature of this communication?

B. Teaching Personnel

1. Is the number of teachers adequate for the courses being offered?
2. Do the teachers have adequate academic, technical, and teaching preparation for the courses in which they are involved?
3. Are the teachers experienced in penal education?
4. Do the teachers have preparation in adult education?

5. Do the teachers appear motivated to do a good job?
6. Have inexperienced teachers received any inservice training?
7. Do teachers have a clear understanding of the goals and philosophies of education and training in a penitentiary setting?

C. Programs

1. Is there sufficient variety to meet inmate needs?
2. For any particular program, is it possible to take enough courses or credits to achieve some externally recognized level?
3. Are the programs related to community demands?
4. Do the programs that are being offered have any likelihood of increasing inmate earning potential?
5. Are the goals of each program specified and understood by inmates and staff?

D. The Facilities

1. Is the space provided sufficient for the program that is being conducted?
2. Are the rooms furnished appropriately?
3. Is the equipment modern enough to reflect current outside practice?
4. Are there enough supplies and materials?
5. Is there adequate office space for school staff?
6. Is there adequate study space for students?

E. The Process

1. General
    a) Is there sound educational and vocational guidance available for inmates at induction and later?
    b) Is preliminary testing used for appropriate placement?
    c) Is the allocation of instruction time reasonable for the Education and Training goals?
    d) Are there provisions for flexible admission?
    e) Are there waiting lists for courses and programs?

2. Instruction
    a) Are current instructional strategies used in the classroom?
    b) Do teachers seem well prepared?
    c) Are classes interesting?
    d) Is the instruction appropriate to the level of the students?
    e) Are attempts made to motivate students?
    f) Does the teacher attend to all students in the class?
    g) Does the instruction show evidence of long range planning?
    h) Are instructional practices safe? (especially in shop areas)
    i) Is the size of the class appropriate for the instructional task?
    j) Is the implementation of inmate study plans inhibited due to the lack of space?
    k) Do teachers have reasonable but high aspirations for their students?
    l) Does the instruction reflect current knowledge?
    m) Are teachers appropriate models for the students?

3. Learning
    a) Do the students seem interested?
    b) Are the students motivated to work in class?
    c) Are the students succeeding on a day to day level?
    d) Do the students appear to understand the instruction?
    e) Do the students respect school property?
    f) Do the students and teachers manifest mutual respect?

4. Student Assessment
    a) Are tests well constructed?
    b) Do the tests vary in format?
    c) Are the tests fair? Do they cover the material?
    d) Is feedback from tests promptly given?
    e) Are comprehensive and accurate achievement records kept on all students?
    f) Are pay rates commensurate with effort and progress?

5. Texts and References
    a) Are texts available in sufficient quantity?
    b) Are texts up to date?
    c) Are references available to staff and students?
    d) Is there a library, and if there is, is it adequate?

6. The Outcomes
    a) For each course and program being offered, given the nature of the inmate population, are the levels of achievement adequate?
    b) Is the amount of time required by inmates to achieve particular levels in a course appropriate to the goals of Education and Training?
    c) Are course results reviewed internally to assess their merit?
    d) Is the number and variety of credit courses appropriate for the nature of the inmate population, the level of funding, and the level of teacher effort?
    e) Are the inmates in each group showing steady and sufficient progress toward externally recognized diplomas and certificates?
    f) Are outcome reports accurate and up to date?
    g) Is there any evidence that inmate self-concept has improved through exposure to Education and Training?
    h) Do attitudes change as a result of exposure to Education and Training?

7. General Questions
    a) What are the strongest areas of Education and Training?
    b) What are the most innovative things being done?
    c) What are the biggest problems in Education and Training?
    d) What is being done to improve them?
    e) What changes have occurred in the past three years?
    f) If new money were assigned to Education and Training in this site, where would it go?

Program of Post-Release Follow-up Studies Component

The foci of the national monitoring and site assessment components are upon the immediate outcomes and internal operations of education and training. Although necessary for the development and maintenance of an effective educational system, these two components do not provide a measure of post-release performance. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that a performance measurement system should include a third component incorporating the routine collection and analysis of follow-up data on the post-release use of education and training in employment and their relation to reincarceration. If, for example, it could be unequivocally demonstrated that, upon discharge, a greater proportion of inmates who participated in education and training found employment or continued in an educational program and avoided contact with the law (leading to a return to prison) than those who did not participate, then it could be concluded that education and training is effective.

The keyword in the last sentence is "unequivocally". But, as will be discussed in what follows, the situation is not unequivocal. The Task Force struggled with the design of a post-release monitoring system which could be routinely used to clearly examine post-release success of education and training and, after much agonizing, decided that a definitive solution which had so obviously eluded other evaluators and criminologists was simply not immediately on the horizon.

An Illustration of the Difficulties

To illustrate the difficulties associated with post-release studies, consider the following hypothetical study of the reincarceration status of inmates 16 months after their discharge.

Data were obtained from Parole Service and Parole Board records for inmates discharged from an institution over the last 1½ to 3 years. Where records were not available inmates were directly contacted and interviewed. The obtained information revealed that education and training resulted in a lower recidivism rate: 61.7 percent of the inmates who participated in the institution's education and training program were not reincarcerated in comparison to 39.0 percent of the inmates who did not participate in the educational program.

Now consider the following questions and answers.

Q Do the results indicate that education and training works?

A It is not clear, other factors could have influenced the results.

Q What are some of these other factors?

A Consider the following variables on which the groups would differ and which may be related to post-release success:

i) Type and seriousness of offence leading to prison term
ii) Persistence of criminality (previous convictions)
iii) Institutional experience while in prison (e.g., riots, sit-ins)
iv) Institutional adjustment while in prison (e.g., rule violations)
v) Form of prison pay
vi) Race of inmate
vii) Social background
viii) Previous education and training
ix) Previous employment record
x) Opportunities for education and training
xi) Attitude toward penitentiary education and training
xii) Length of sentence served
xiii) Attitude and competence of educational staff
xiv) Age at release
xv) Marital status at time of release and during post-release
xvi) Family support at time of release and during post-release
xvii) Location of residence following release
xviii) Type of friends after release (e.g., new friends, old friends)
xix) Post release involvement with drugs or alcohol
xx) Type of employment following release
xxi) Employer knowledge of previous criminal record
xxii) Characteristics of probation supervision
  - caseload of parole officer
  - expertise of parole officer
  - quantity and quality of parole officer's contact with ex-inmate, his family, his employer
  - type and length of probation

Q Could the experimental method be used to control for many of these variables?

A Not likely given the nature of the prisons and the fact that, by regulation, all prisoners be allowed to enter education and training who are able and willing to benefit from it.

Q Would it be possible to create samples matched on these variables?

A Not all at one time. The total number of inmates even theoretically available for matching is insufficient.

A Plausible Solution

The above dialogue notwithstanding, the fact remains that attention needs to be paid to long-term outcomes as a measure of program performance. Consequently, the Task Force recommended that a series of planned research/assessment post-release studies be incorporated as a component of a performance measurement system.

The post-release component envisaged consists of a series of interrelated studies featuring multiple variables and data sources. Each institution has unique attributes in terms of its inmates, its atmosphere, and its programs. Parole service practices appear to vary across jurisdictions. Thus, the series should consist of a study of the inmates discharged from each of the institutions offering education and training.

Random assignment and institutional control are unrealistic in a penitentiary setting (or, for that matter, in most other social-education settings). Fortunately, there are available some generally interpretible quasi-experimental designs[12] which can be used in place of experimental designs. Judicious use of such designs, perhaps incorporating more than one of them into a given study coupled with appropriate statistical analysis procedures,can significantly increase confidence in making causal attributions.

Statistical analysis will play a rather substantial role in the study of post-release success. The appropriateness of such analyses, though, has been questioned. However, the Task Force, in agreement with Cook and Campbell, believes that statistical analyses can be used to help increase the confidence of findings:

> ...the statistical analyses of nonequivalent group designs is facilitated (1) by a careful planning of the design so as to have available as much of the information that is required for the analysis as possible and to anticipate analysis difficulties; (2) by a rigorous and exhaustive examination of the data with multiple and open-minded analysis to try to discern the many contributing sources that are likely to be operating; and (3) by an explicit and public appraisal of the validity of the findings and the plausibility of alternative explanations.[13]

When interpreting the results from a quasi-experimental study conducted at each institution, the conclusions drawn should be labelled as "tentative". Such honesty is warranted and reflects an appreciation of the nature of data collected in a quasi-experimental study.[14] Through replications both across time and institutions, increasing confidence can be placed in the results.

SUMMARY

What has been proposed is a three component system - national monitoring, site assessment, and post-release study - designed to yield data and information appropriate for assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of the education and training programs in meeting their objectives. Taken together, the three components will provide a comprehensive portrayal of the three phases typically associated with education and training programs --- input, process, and output,--- which heretofore has not been available to the educators responsible for the education and training of prisoners in a Canadian Federal penitentiary.

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COGNITION AND CRIME: IN SEARCH OF A LINK

Robert R. Ross

A number of correctional educators, criminologists, and psychologists have recently argued that criminal behavior is associated with cognitive deficiency; that offenders have had developmental delays in the acquisition of a number of cognitive skills which are necessary for effective and non-criminal social adaptation. It is further argued that offender rehabilitation can be achieved through correctional education programs which foster the offender's cognitive development.

Such a conceptualization of criminal behavior has been used to account for the results of the UVIC program at Matsqui penitentiary. This program, which provides university level courses in the humanities and social sciences has been reported to be exceptionally effective in reducing the recidivism of institutionalized adult offenders most of whom are chronic recidivists with long histories of serious criminal behavior (Ayers, Duguid, Montague & Wolowidnyk, 1980). These results have been attributed, in large measure, to the impact of the program in fostering the prisoner's cognitive development. It is assumed that,

> "Most prisoners are deficient in certain interpersonal and social skills that are required to function in straight society."
> (Ayers, 1979, p. 4)

and that,

> "... the criminal suffers from a
> developmental lag ... his cognitive
> structures, his way of seeing the
> world, and his moral reasoning,
> his way of interpreting what he
> sees, are somehow inadequate or
> dysfunctional for 'getting on'
> in society."
> (Duguid, 1981, p. 26)

Several others have recently made similar assumptions. For example, Dean (1979) suggested that incarcerated individuals differ from the normal population in the degree to which they are able to perceive and understand the causal relationships in interpersonal interactions. Jurkovic & Prentice (1977) have argued that persistent delinquents are limited in their understanding of social behavior, in their capacity to assume the role of others, and, therefore, in their ability to predict or anticipate the behavior of other people. Chandler (1977) has also suggested that delinquents have not progressed cognitively beyond egocentric thought and, therefore, may be unable to recognize the views of other people and to react appropriately to these views. Accordingly, their social judgement is impaired. Delinquency has often been attributed to an inability to predict the consequences of behavior and to an impulsive mode of thinking, (e.g., Ausubel, 1958; Frank & Quinlan, 1976; Loevinger, 1966; Vedder & Somerville, 1970).

King (1975) has asserted that impulsivity and poor judgement resulting from unsuccessful cognitive development is a prominent factor in violence. The thinking of violent youth, he argues, is immediate and intense and they rely on feeling rather than thoughts to fathom their world.

Sarason (1978) has recently presented what he terms the "cognitive social learning perspective" of delinquency. He suggests that delinquents differ from non-delinquents in their perceptions of the world and the future because of an undesirable history of social learning experiences, and that their anti-social behavior is a manifestation of their faulty perceptions.

Recently Feuerstein (1979) has noted that criminal activity may be a function of "a different way of thinking", or a result of cognitive deficiencies which include,

> "Perceiving the world in a kind of episodic way, without any attempts to integrate past experience with present, and anticipate for the future ... the way they perceive things may be blurred ... they may be impulsive because they do not have the proper distance between a given input and the propensity to respond to it; they may fail to compare things sharply enough so as to be able to decide what is what and what should be done about it."
> (Feuerstein, in Griffin, 1979, p. 13-15)

Feuerstein suggests that crimes may be committed by people who have not learned to learn from what happens to them and thus tend to repeat their errors over and over again. Those "people whose thinking leads to crime", do not process information in the same way as others and, as a result, apply a different set of meanings to the world.

Hayward (1979) has argued that "adolescents who are in trouble with the law do not think efficiently. They have not developed efficient, precise habits of thought that from the basis for the learning of ... social skills." He suggests that they tend to have an uncritical approach to their own thinking, they "do not think through to the consequences of some anticipated action," they "do not weigh alternative courses of action," and "do not weigh values in a critical thoughtful manner."

One of the most comprehensive discussions of a link between cognitive development and criminal behavior is that of Spivack, Platt & Shure (1976) who have defined and measured a group of interpersonal cognitive problem-solving (ICPS) skills which are essential for effective social adjustment. Deficiencies in these skills, they argue, may be associated with maladaptive behavior of various kinds, including delinquency and crime. The skills consist of a number of specific abilities which determine one's capacity to understand and respond effectively in interpersonal situations. Many offenders have an inability to realize that other people's perspectives and needs are different from their own. They may lack the ability to generate alternative solutions to a problem -- to think of a number of ways in which one might respond rather than just one way (his usual way). Offenders may lack the ability to determine the step-by-step means whereby they can solve problems. Consequently they may act in an habitual way without considering carefully how they might best reach their goals. Some offenders may lack the ability to calculate the consequences of various courses of action they might take and, therefore, are unable to judge what is the best thing to do.

Much earlier, Harvey, Hunt & Shroder (1961), Glueck & Glueck (1950), Sarbin & Allen (1954), Singer (1955), Werner (1948), Cameron (1951), and Gough (1948) had argued that delinquents exhibited "arrested development" in their cognitive functioning, were retarded in their perceptual cognitive development, were socially immature and/or had significant deficits in specific cognitive functions such as temporal orientation and impulse control.

Although these assumptions differ somewhat in the cognitive functions they emphasize, in general they agree in asserting that an important determinant of the individual's social adjustment is how adept he is in solving problems in the interpersonal sphere. They argue that there are a distinct, identifiable group of cognitive skills which determine one's ability to deal successfully with other people. Furthermore, they hold that inadequate development of some or all of these cognitive skills may repeatedly lead the individual into social difficulties including crime and delinquency.

Such explanations of criminal behavior have many important implications for correctional programming not the least of which is that they provide an alternative to the much maligned medical (disease) model of criminal behavior. Rather than suggesting that the offender is a victim of some underlying disease which must be "cured" by therapy, they suggest that the offender is a decision-maker who is poorly equipped cognitively to cope successfully and needs to be taught, not treated.

In most instances, those who have argued for a cognitive deficiency/crime link have not provided evidence that offenders have cognitive deficiencies or that offenders differ from non-offenders in cognitive functioning. Accordingly a search and a critical review of the relevant research literature was conducted in order to determine whether there is any empirical support for these assumptions. The results of this review have been presented elsewhere[1] and the present paper provides only the major conclusions of that review:

1) A number of empirical studies have demonstrated that many offenders lack self-control, fail to self-regulate their behavior, have not learned to delay gratification and tend to react impulsively, in a non-reflective, stereotyped way to problem situations.

2) A considerable number of studies have demonstrated that various forms of social deviation including crime and delinquency is associated with deficiencies in social perspective taking. Many offenders lack the ability to take the perspective of other people. They remain at an egocentric state of cognitive development in which they are unable to distinguish between their own emotional states, thoughts, and views and those of other people. Accordingly, such an offender may be unable to anticipate what others

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[1] Ross, R. R. & Fabiano, E. Time to Think: Cognition and Crime/Link and Remediation. Ottawa: Solicitor General, 1981.

will do in response to his intended actions and he may fail to understand the broader purposes of rules, and laws which he may feel are simply arbitrary. As a result, he may misread societal expectations, misinterpret the actions and intentions of others, and lack adequate social maturity.

3) Many empirical studies have found that many offenders evidence a cognitive style which is action oriented rather than reflective and that their cognitive style reflects a tendency toward concrete rather than abstract thinking. They are less likely to think about problem situations than to react to them or to "act out" without adequately analyzing the situation, calculating the consequences of their action or considering alternative courses of action.

4) A number of studies have also demonstrated that many delinquents are lacking in problem-solving skills. They may evidence deficiencies in any or all of the following cognitive functions: (a) the ability to recognize the potential for problems when people interact; (b) the ability to consider the consequences of actions; (c) the ability to generate

alternative solutions; (d) the ability to conceptualize step-by-step means needed to reach one's goals; (e) the ability to see the cause and effect relation between one's actions and another's behavior.

Although the foregoing evidence is in accord with the assumptions of a cognition/crime link, there are methodological shortcomings in the research which preclude an unqualified endorsement of this relationship. However, it is clear that regardless of the existence or the strength of a cognition/crime link there is little doubt that many offenders may evidence deficiencies in cognitive functioning which would impair their capacity for effective social adaptation and place them at risk for a criminal adjustment.

The evidence suggests that the offenders who are most likely to exhibit cognitive deficiencies are "chronic" offenders. These offenders comprise a relatively small proportion of the total offender population but are responsible for an inordinate proportion of criminal acts. They are also the ones who are most likely to be found in the penitentiary population.

It should be noted that the cognitive deficiencies which have been identified as lacking in many offenders are not the same as intelligence (as measured by I.Q. tests) or learning disabilities. Deficiencies in cognitive functioning *may* be a reflection of limited general intelligence or a specific learning disability but they may also be found in offenders who evidence a high I.Q. and who have no history of learning disability. The major precursors of cognitive deficits appear to be inadequate schooling and/or lack of exposure to appropriate problem-solving models.

It should be noted that the bulk of the evidence of cognitive deficiencies in offenders relates to their functioning in *interpersonal* activities and specifically points to deficits in interpersonal problem-solving and social perspective taking. Much more research needs to be done to determine the extent to which cognitive deficiencies in the *impersonal* sphere is to be found in offender populations.

Much stronger support of a cognition/crime link was found in an analysis of programs which have been demonstrated in methodologically adequate research to be effective in reducing the recidivism of adolescent and adult offenders. These programs have engendered reductions in recidivism ranging from 30-60% in follow-up studies as long as 3 to 15 years after program completion. They have been effective in community-based diversion and probation programs and in institutional programs for hard-core juvenile delinquents and recidivistic adult offenders (Ross & Gendreau, 1980). Our analysis revealed that a common component of most of these effective correctional programs is an intervention strategy which leads to cognitive development or the enhancement of the offender's interpersonal problem-solving skills. In these programs cognitive development has been effected in a variety of ways: (problem-solving and interpersonal skills training; negotiation skills training; modelling and role-playing), but all of them entail an educational approach to offender rehabilitation.

In short, our research demonstrated that there is clear evidence to confirm the view that a substantial number of offenders have cognitive deficiencies in specific aspects of their cognitive functioning which may limit their ability to make an adequate social adjustment and may place them at risk in terms of adopting an anti-social adaptation. Identification of these deficiencies and their remediation through educational programs may be a critical factor in the rehabilitation or a large proportion of the delinquent and adult offender population.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the emphasis on cognitive factors in explaining criminal behavior is thoroughly in accord with recent developments in the social sciences which have during the past decade progressed from a narrow environmentalistic or behavioristic stance to a recognition of the importance of cognitive factors in human activity.

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PART V
CURRICULUM WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

PRACTICAL REASONING IN CORRECTIONS EDUCATION

Ian Wright

In recent literature there has been focus on the perceived lack of reasoning ability of inmates. Under the rubric of 'reasoning' various writers have referred to the need to develop reasoning abilities (Wagner, 1978); problem-solving skills (Waksman et al, 1975); critical thinking (AVER, 1980); analytic thinking (Ayers, 1979); and moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1972). Several programs designed to develop reasoning abilities have been implemented and evaluated in various correctional institutions, with a major focus being on moral reasoning curricula derived from Kohlberg's theory of moral development (Kohlberg, 1976). In this paper I intend to 1. criticize the Kohlbergian approach, and 2. put forward a framework which would integrate problem-solving, analytic and critical thinking abilities with moral reasoning.

I do not criticize the Kohlberg approach on the basis of theoretical soundness, although I do have some doubts about it. Neither do I criticize it on the basis that implementation of Kohlberg's moral education program doesn't raise the moral reasoning stages of students -- the available research clearly indicates that, in most cases, it does. Neither do I criticize the notion of a just community prison. What I criticize is the apparent lack of focus in the Kohlberg approach, on the many thinking skills which are necessary to underpin the arguments used to justify the principles which form the structure of each of Kohlberg's stages. I say 'apparent' because research reports don't always make it clear as to what kind of reasoning occurs in moral education classes.

In the Kohlberg approach attention is focussed on the principles which form the basis for each stage (e.g., stage 4 - maintenance of social order). Underlying the structure of each stage are arguments, for example, "One shouldn't do X because it'll lead to a prison sentence." In syllogistic form the argument is:

Major premise (Value principle)	One shouldn't do that which will lead to a prison sentence.
Minor premise (Factual claim)	Doing X will lead to a prison sentence.
Conclusion	Therefore one shouldn't do X.

This is a valid deductive argument; one must accept the conclusion if one accepts the major and minor premises. However, a valid argument is not necessarily a sound argument. A sound practical syllogism requires that the minor premise be true, and the major premise (value principle) be defensible. In the above argument one can ask if the factual claim is true - will doing X lead to a prison sentence? One can also question the assumptions behind the claim. Even though doing X is an indictable or summary offence, the factual claim assumes that a person will be apprehended, tried, found guilty, and sent to prison - are these valid assumptions?

Questions which focus on the validity of empirical claims do not seem to be asked in Kohlbergian programs. Some empirical questions do appear but these are designed to focus attention on higher stage reasoning. These questions, such as, 'How would A feel?' or, 'What would happen if society believed in that?' do not, however, ask students to evidence empirical claims used in a given argument (i.e., asking, 'How do you know that's how A would feel?' or 'What evidence do you have that those consequences would follow?') Rather, the Kohlberg curriculum questions ask people to focus on the defensibility of value principles. This is not to say that questions of role-exchange and universal consequences are not important; they are. Rather, it is to say that other types of questions, and the abilities necessary to come to grips with them, are also significant. By neglecting evaluation of empirical claims, the Kohlberg approach unrealistically truncates the reasoning process. This neglect, I believe, weakens the effectiveness of the dilemma approach to moral education. Students are limited to discussing the dilemma as it is presented -- all the information is available, and, in fact, boundaries for discussion are established; we do not have to worry about the 'facts' of the case. In the famous Heinz dilemma, we do not need to know whether or not the radium will save Heinz's wife -- it is stated that the doctors thought it might. We do not need to find out the effectiveness of the drug, which clearly is of import - if the drug had been shown not to be effective, there would be no point in stealing it. Yet in 'real life' we may well need to find out the facts of the case before we make decisions. In order to evaluate empirical claims, critical thinking abilities are necessary.

1. We need to focus attention on the reliability of observational claims.

   As Ennis (1969) states:

> Observation statements tend to be more reliable if the observer:
>
> - Was unemotional, alert and disinterested.
> - Was skilled at observing the sort of thing observed.
> - Had sensory equipment that was in good condition.
> - Had a reputation for veracity.
> - Used precise techniques.
> - Had no preconception about the way the observation would turn out.
>
> Observation statements tend to be more reliable if the observation conditions:
>
> - Were such that the observer had good access.
> - Provided a satisfactory medium of observation.

Observation statements tend to be more reliable to the extent that the statement:

- Is close to being a statement of direct observation.
- Is corroborated.
- Is corroboratable.
- Comes from a disinterested source with a reputation for veracity.

Observation statements, if based on a record, tend to be more reliable if the record:

- Was made at the time of observation.
- Was made by the person making the statement.
- Is believed by the person making the statement to be correct--either because he so believed at the time the record was made, or because he believes it was the record-maker's habit to make correct records.

Observation statements tend to be more reliable than inferences made from them.

2. We need to be able to evaluate claims made by an authority by using the following criteria:

    1. The authority has a good reputation.

    2. The statement is in the authority's field.

    3. The authority was disinterested--that is, he did not knowingly stand to profit by the results of his statements (except that he may have stood to have his reputation affected).

    4. The authority's reputation could be affected by his statement and he was aware of this fact when he made his statement.

    5. The authority studied the matter.

    6. The authority followed the accepted procedures in coming to his conclusion (although there are legitimate exceptions to this requirement).

    7. The authority was in full possession of his faculties.

3. We need to be able to recognize assumptions and then to critically evaluate them. For example, in the statement "Educational programs

should be provided for inmates" there are all kinds of possible assumptions being made. These may range from the rehabilitative effects of educational programs, to ones concerning keeping inmates busy and out of trouble.

Whereas Kohlbergian programs fail to address adequately the evaluation of empirical claims, conceptual analysis is an integral part. Yet, in Kohlberg programs, concepts are defined in terms of the stage theory. For example, in order to clarify a Stage Two notion of 'fairness' (considerations of coming out even), Stage Three notion (considerations of the happiness of everyone directly involved) are presented. Nowhere, it appears, are such questions asked as, "Why is X an example of 'fairness'?," or, "Is characteristic Y a necessary and/or sufficient attribute of 'fairness'?" Although moral concepts ('promise,' 'justice,' 'equality,' etc.) are focussed upon, a question arises in Kohlbergian programs as to how teachers and students are to tackle other concepts which might be used in a moral argument. For example:

> It is wrong to tell racist jokes.
> X is a racist joke.
> Therefore it is wrong to tell X.

Here, the concept 'racist' needs clarifying. If X is not a racist joke then the conclusion is unwarrented, even if the principle is acceptable. Whereas it is significant that the principle be justified, it is also important that such concepts as 'racist' and others which are integral to the study of social issues (prejudice : pollution : revolution : equal opportunity, and so on) be clarified.

It has also been pointed out that argumentation is basic. By argumentation, I mean a group of statements which provide evidence or support for a conclusion. As pointed out above it is necessary to assess the empirical and conceptual claims made in an argument, but it is also necessary to evaluate the form of argument (validity); i.e., does the conclusion follow logically from the premise(s)? This entails some ability in logic, and additionally will necessitate skill in detecting informal fallacies (hasty generalizations, false causes, circular reasoning, appeals to authority, popular sentiments, or traditions) (La Bar, 1980).

The kinds of critical thinking abilities outlined above are not only necessary in moral reasoning, they are also significant in other areas. For example, in history, questions concerning the reliability of observational claims are key; in science questions of cause and effect, and correlation are of import; in literature matters of interpretation are significant. In order to study a discipline one has not only to know the facts, concepts and generalizations of that discipline, but also to understand the way(s) of reasoning used in the discipline; i.e., "Why is X an historical, scientific, etc. 'truth'?" and "How do we deal with conflicting claims?" Just as critical thinking abilities are required to evaluate claims made in a scientific argument, so are they required to evaluate the claims made in a moral argument.

But, there is a further step in justifying moral arguments, -- knowing how to evaluate the moral principle used as the major premise in an argument. Here, Kohlberg has much to say concerning the use of higher stage principles by using such tests as the role-reversal (would it be right to steal if you were the druggist?), new cases (would it be right to steal the drug for a stranger as for the wife?) and consequences test (in terms of society, what would be the best reason(s) for a judge to sentence/not sentence Heinz?).

Whereas I would defend the use of these tests, I'm not sure if they are used properly in moral education classes. For example, to ask "What if everyone did X?" may be nonsensical if it is unlikely that everyone would do X. The universal consequences test, as conceived by Coombs (1980) asks, "What if everyone did X for Y reason?" This entails determining the number of people likely to do X for Y reason (this could be an extremely complex task), and then determining the moral desirability of n. people doing X. Similarly, to ask, "How would A feel?" and assume that if A would feel upset or hurt an action shouldn't be performed, is to avoid the problem that even if A felt hurt, the action might be morally right (e.g. a mother deciding whether or not her child should undergo a painful operation -- here, if the mother put herself in the child's shoes, she might decide, from the child's viewpoint, that the operation shouldn't be performed because of the pain to the child. Yet, the operation might be essential for the child's future wellbeing).

In my view the principle tests, as used in Kohlbergian programs, are not refined enough. The complexities and subtleties of applying tests to moral principles are often overlooked and avoided.

I have attempted to outline some shortcomings in the Kohlberg approach to moral education, and to outline a more thorough instructional design through the incorporation of critical thinking skills. Rest (1981, p. 7) states that there are four components in the production of moral behavior. These are:

1. Interpreting the situation in terms of how people's welfare is affected by possible actions of the subject.
2. Figuring out what the ideally moral course of action would be.

3. Deciding what one actually intends to do.

4. Executing and implementing what one intends to do.

The Kohlberg approach deals mainly with component two. The more holistic approach described in this paper additionally focuses on components one and three. Yet, even this instructional design may not take into account factors which are necessary for good moral reasoning to be translated into defensible moral condict; e.g., having the right sensitivities, dispositions and commitment. However, practical reasoning, as conceived here, may be more beneficial than Kohlbergian moral education programs, and would be an asset in the study of any social issue, and in any curriculum area.

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KOHLBERG CONCRETIZED: THE PRACTICE OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRISON UNIVERSITY

Jacquelyn Nelson
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Over the last few years, there has been increasing interest in the idea of a university operating inside a prison. In Canada much of this is due to the University of Victoria's program which offers to inmates the possibility of earning a bachelor of arts degree inside the federal prisons of British Columbia. This possibility can be an attractive one for both the inmates and the prison staff. It offers the potential students an alternative way to do time, which can be an interesting escape from normal prison routine. It also offers cognitive skills, which can be effective in solving problems between inmates and staff. Since the U-Vic programme began at William Head Institution, the number of grievances launched by inmates seems to have decreased, and the administration reports that there seems to be more cooperation between inmates and staff. In general, then, the institutional effect of the university appears to be positive. Beyond these institutional considerations, it is safe to say that the U-Vic program has offered more to some veteran students. Some have shown major behavioural changes: some have become scholars.

One of the justifications for offering university education inside a prison has been that the prisoners will attain more than just cognitive growth: they will, according to some, develop moral reasoning abilities as well. This has been called the "hidden agenda" in the University of Victoria's programs in the federal prisons. The purpose of this paper is twofold: it will critically examine the theoretical basis of this hidden agenda and it will offer an updated explanation of the behavioural changes evident in students who show what has been loosely termed moral developement.

It is rare to find an educational program anywhere which has developed from a solid theoretical and research base. When such a program is in operation, it should be subjected to continual analysis in order to determine whether it is achieving its goals, and (if so) why. In other words, the test of a theory must always be empirical observation. The U-Vic prison program was based on Kohlberg's research and his consequent theory of moral development (see, for example, Kohlberg, 1975). There is evidence to suggest that the program has been successful: not only has it produced a number of excellent students, but the students tend not to return to prison after they are released. This lends some support to Kohlberg's theory of moral development resulting from cognitive development. However, a slightly different theoretical approach will account for this data as well.

This paper will argue that Kohlberg provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding moral development in a university prison program. However, for the purposes of prison education, morality should not be viewed simply as an internal tendency, since such tendencies are not directly observable. Instead, the focus must be shifted to actual observable behaviour which occurs in the real world. We suggest, in other words, that morality develops from that concrete practice of morality, rather than the reverse. To further explain the implications of this shift in focus, it is necessary to first describe Kohlberg's position.

Moral development, as used by Kohlberg, is an abstract and internal process. It results from experience within one's environment, but is ultimately due to an hypothesized innate tendency to develop moral reasoning. Kohlberg's theory might be illustrated by comparing it to the operation of a fever thermometer. He suggests that each of us are born with an innate cognitive structure analagous to the glass thermometer which involves a hierarchy of stages (like the gradations on the glass). When the thermometer is placed under the tongue, the liquid rises in the tube, and it does not go back down when the warmth is removed. Similarly, according to Kohlberg, moral development increases by stages within this inborn cognitive structure, but does so only when the person is placed in an environment which supplies the moral 'heat'. Even when removed from such an environment, one retains this higher capacity for moral reasoning. Since this is an increase in an abstract essence (morality) rather than in specific behaviours, Kohlberg argues that this essence can be measured by the response to moral dilemmas which may be quite removed from the person's experience. This involves requesting the individual to solve a problem (e.g., would you steal a drug to save your dying wife?) and examining not the answer ("yes, I would") but the expressed reasoning (the abstract quality) behind the specific answer ("because life is more valuable than property"). In fact, according to Kohlberg, the development of this abstract morality may or may not be manifested in concrete action. He does note, however, that at the higher stages, abstract moral reasoning and concrete moral actions tend to be consistent.

If heat is necessary to raise the liquid in the thermometer model, what is the analogous heat which causes the development of moral reasoning? As noted earlier, Kohlberg suggests that there is a natural tendency to develop, and this is facilitated by education (which promotes cognitive development) and conflict or debate over moral issues. It is important to realize that Kohlberg sees morality based on principles and reasoning about principles rather than the securing of any particular value or set of values.

Academic courses produce cognitive development, which in turn produces better reasoning capabilities. This leads to the critical question of whether the intervention should be direct or indirect. If the object of a university program in prison is moral development, and if the faculty are agents of moral development, would it not be simpler to be straightforward about this role? Kohlberg resists direct intervention, calling it the "bag of virtues approach". In fact, direct intervention can at best teach only highly specific values, rather than an extendable "method" of approaching ethical questions. Furthermore, adults (especially adults in prison) are resistant to the teaching of values, which they see as essentially middle class norms, the norms of their oppressors. Direct approaches, such as rewarding individuals in a behaviouristic way for each socially acceptable value or moral action are inefficient and ineffective.

Kohlberg suggests specific ways that moral growth can be facilitated without the direct teaching of values. In addition to general education, Kohlberg suggests that conflict over ethical issues can effectively release a person's innate developmental potential. If a person is confronted with reasoning which he can understand but is slightly above his current level of reasoning, he will tend to see its logic and will take on the higher level of reasoning. A prisoner, then, who is confronted with another prisoner on an ethical issue will only profit from this confrontation if the other person has attained a level of moral reasoning which is slightly higher than his own. Imagine a discussion in which one person believes stealing is good as long as you don't get caught and another states that stealing is wrong because it violates one of the principles of civilized society: respect for others' property rights. Kohlberg states that such a conflict is useless, because the first person would not even understand what the second was talking about. However, if the second person were instead to point out certain consequences (e.g., if you steal from me, I'll probably steal from you and in the end, nothing is gained), then the logic, which is close to the first person's logic, will be obvious and development toward this more extended view is likely. According to Kohlberg, once he can see the logic of "keeping score" (I'll do for you if you do for me), then he is ready to move to conventional morality: he can see the logic of taking care of people whom he likes. The person, then, may slowly move from pure self-interest to interest in others, then to interest in the group (family, society) in general, and finally to principles which permit that group to survive.

Kohlberg suggests that ethical confrontations of this sort should be introduced deliberately in order to promote moral development. This is not done directly in the University of Victoria Programs. Yet it is true that in any university program one of the favorite forms of exercise is informal debate, and often these debates center on ethical issues. In University of Victoria prison programs, these kinds of discussions occur, but not as a result of the faculty artificially posing moral problems because the students are prisoners. The faculty do not act as moral therapists; they are university teachers. The dilemmas which arise in these programs tend to come from a number of sources: pure intellectual exercise is one, and the actual day-to-day running of a small university campus inside a prison supplies many others. Within a program environment which produces real dilemmas which must be solved, and which gives its students power to make many of these decisions, the exercise of reasoning (particularly moral reasoning) often occurs.

The resultant changes are not abstract changes. They are born in concrete circumstances. Any principles of fairness, democratic practice, rights of others, etc., come from this concrete practice rather than from (as Kohlberg asserts) an innate tendency to develop.

By eliminating the idea of innate developmental drives and innate structures, it is possible to focus more clearly on the particular environment which provides a forum for the exercise of ethical reasoning and behaviour. In addition to demystifying the developmental process, there is a theoretical advantage to examining activity rather than an abstract essence. It is an approach which is consistent with the law of parsimony: any phenomenon should be explained by reference to the simplest process possible, unless the data demands a more complex explanation. In this case, there is no need to refer to an innate cognitive structure to explain ethical reasoning in inmates. The changes seen are the result of the nature of university education and are largely the result of choices prisoners make about their own lives within a supportive alternative community which develops reasoning abilities and procedures without prescribing their use. This can best be explained by describing the university program, the demands it makes and the options it offers.

Perhaps the most important ingredient of a university program inside a prison is its credibility to prisoners/students. If the university program exists for therapeutic reasons, this credibility will deteriorate. The courses offered at the prison campuses of the University of Victoria are academically credible: they are taught by faculty who are approved by the relevant department and are hired by the university (they are not CSC employees). The courses are as demanding as those on campus and the results are not stigmatized by "special" status within the larger university community. The students enroll using the regular procedures: they receive student numbers, and at the completion of the courses they receive transcripts which are identical to those of other university students. Should they receive a degree, it is a University of Victoria degree, and in no way can it be identified as a "prison degree". In the eyes of all involved, students are receiving a university education, not therapy. As a result of belonging to a small personalized university program, not as a result of therapy, some of the students become committed to a new, scholarly lifestyle. This goal is not prison-specific: it is the goal of every university educator to see his or her students become committed to intellectual pursuits.

Duguid (1978, 1979) has attempted to explain this identity shift from prisoner to student as a series of decisions. This process reverses the effect of the earlier process, in which the person became a criminal. Duguid suggests that the individual makes conscious choices which gradually limit the range of choices open to him in the future. This narrowing of options includes such events as quitting school at an early age, an act which tends to eliminate certain vocational and social roles as well. One of the things the university program offers is a way of re-opening that decision range. It offers a new set of interests, behaviours, and values, and it allows the possibility of a forum in which important decisions can be made cooperatively and democratically.

The process of identity change which occurs can be described on three levels: committment to the university, to the courses in which one is enrolled and finally to the program itself, which is a type of community. At each level the committment consists of real activity, not just attitudes.

Initially, students decide to enrol in university courses. The motivation for doing so is largely irrelevant, since it is subject to continual change. Some wish to prove their intelligence, some are simply tired of cutting grass or cleaning toilets. What is important is that the decision is voluntary: their own motivations can keep them in university long enough to develop interest in the courses.

There are a number of interesting features about enrolling in university in the prison. The U-Vic program is staffed by people who are not employees of the correctional system. The program, then, is genuinely non-prison and enrollment is a committment to an institution other than a correctional one. The faculty have neither the power nor the desire to execute prison functions. The consequences of rule violation, for instance, are not charges made by the faculty, but often failure in courses. This is a natural consequence of not having made a comittment, and it reflects the natural consequences of similar action on campuses at large.

Using Duguid's identity model, the student who enrolls in university has accomplished by that act (regardless of its motive) a bridge back to other "lifestyle" options.

To remain in the university as a work place, the student must develop a certain committment to his courses. Again, the type of motivation is largely irrelevant: the person must do the work and attain at least a C in order to remain in the university. Within this context a type of attitude must exist which allows survival within the university community: the person must be willing to be evaluated and to change his behaviour in light of that evaluation. This usually involves more than forming appropriate study skills: it involves understanding new ideas and even using a complex conceptual language. This, of course, occurs in all universities. In prison there are additional features which may facilitate cognitive growth. Classes are smaller: often the enrollment is under 15, compared to enrollments that regularly exceeds 100 in the comparable course on the main campus. This prevents the students from remaining passive, as classes tend to be seminars rather than lectures. Class interaction implies a number of consequences: the instructor receives a great deal of information regarding the progress of the students. Also, students often have to accept temporary interaction with someone they dislike. Whether or not this produces greater tolerance among students, it at least signals committment to the course in which this interaction is necessary. For some students, this atmosphere brings out cooperation: sharing notes, tutoring each other, etc. For some it offers the possibility of reinterpreting personal dislike as a difference in world view. Students tend to become interested and willing to vigorously defend their viewpoints, gradually developing reasoned arguments and critical skills necessary to do so effectively. The "graduate student syndrome" of normal campuses is often seen in first-year courses in the prison.

There is a third level of committment which may be called a developmental stage, since it is not generally necessary for the academic survival of the individual student. This is the committment to the academic community, and it is a committment in the attitudinal sense. It is not necessary, however, to refer simply to attitudes: the committment to the university community often occurs as a result of necessity, often due to a"threat"to the community.

The university has a student council which is given real decision making power. It is elected by and responsible to the group. Students are given power to decide budget issues, guest speakers, room use, and even the courses which will be taught. Although students initially tend not to use the full extent of this power, the forum for solving problems is in place when a problem of importance arises. According to some students, it is there that they begin to exercise and use ethical reasoning: to take a more than personal approach, reason objectively and possibly arrive at a conclusion which may violate prison norms. The major difference between this situation and that of the student councils on non-prison campuses is that the students in prison are given more control over issues which affect them, and the decision making body is much smaller. Meetings can be called and decisions made quickly and effectively.

It is possible for the students to develop a community with a past, a present and a future. Some decisions made will be ones which will not directly affect the decision-makers. For instance, it may take nine months to arrange to hire an instructor, so that those involved in such decisions may be out on the streeet when the person actually joins the program. Thus, such a decision is made only at the community level, for a future community, rather than out of personal interest.

This identity with the other students may be considered an abstract identity, yet it comes from concrete actions and necessities within the academic community.

The person who makes such an identity shift has opened more options: as a member of an academic community, he may wish to remain a member on the outside. The bridge is now more firmly established. A member of an academic community is a member of mainstream society. He may not be an 'establishment man', however he may be a contributor to society - possibly as a critic of the status quo - who can communicate effectively with others and thus help shape policy.

Besides making real committments and opening options for a different lifestyle, the university should accomplish something else: it should give the student the imagination, or the freedom to imagine, options which he has not yet concretely experienced. This requires a cognitive flexibility which may develop initially from having to take other viewpoints in courses. It encourages the student to enter a world that is less egocentric than before. This imagination of options is accompanied by the development of principles: as you view a situation from different angles, certain consistencies emerge. These are principles and are abstract, but they depend upon concrete experience.

The university program within the prison offers development from real action (concrete activity) to principles or rules which govern action. Activity in a real situation produces the emergence of principled thought. It does not come from an innate, mystical tendency to develop morally, as Kohlberg suggests. The reasoning which develops includes abstract principles which are more inclusive in scope than the specific experiences of the individual. However, the individuals in the university program are encouraged to reason imaginatively and, in fact, receive training in this skill. Thus the combination of ethical dilemmas in everyday life and practice in abstract reasoning provides the mechanism for moral development. Course content greatly expands the ideas available to the individuals, producing some generalization of this mechanism.

If the goal of a university program is moral development, then, it is not sufficient to simply offer university courses in the prison and then trust an abstract development process to be triggered. For the development of principled ethical reasoning, the courses must exist within an alternative community in which students are given power and responsibilities so that they can experience, at a concrete level, the consequences of their ethical decisions. Principles then will develop which are firmly based on the experience of the individual and are thus not only more likely to last but are more likely to be translated back into concrete action when the need arises.

MORAL EDUCATION AND TEACHING PRACTICE: HEURISTIC OR HIDDEN CURRICULUM?

Wayne Knights

> There's the King's messenger,' said the Queen. He's in prison now, being punished; and the trial doesn't even begin 'til next Wednesday; and of course the crime comes last of all.'
> 'Suppose he never commits the crime?' said Alice.
> 'That would be all the better, wouldn't it?' the Queen said, as she turned the plaster round her finger with a bit of ribbon.
> Alice felt there was no denying that. 'Of course it would be all the better,' she said, 'but it wouldn't be all the better his being punished.'
> 'You're wrong there, at any rate', said the Queen. 'Were you ever punished?'
> 'Only for faults,' said Alice.
> 'And you were all the better for it, I know!' the Queen said triumphantly.
> 'Yes, but then I had done the things I was punished for,' said Alice, 'That makes all the difference.'
> 'But if you hadn't done them, the Queen said, 'that would have been better still; better, and better, and better!'
>
> Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking Glass

The long quote from Through the Looking Glass[1] that prefaces this paper, speaks to the dilemma of the teacher who is convinced education is a moral process, but who is much less certain of the moral attitude that the context of education demands be served. How much more acute is the anxiety of the educator whose immediate context is not suburbia but the prison! Unlike the King's messenger, his students are presumably being punished for something they did do; but like the King's messenger, they are now in a position to be punished for certain 'deficiencies' heretofore not considered crimes - deficiencies of personality, of moral reasoning, of cognitive skills. And, 'better still', the moral educator is in a position to be the instrument of this second punishment.

It is a worthwhile irony which suggests the practice of moral education in jail is guided by the morally unconsidered imperatives of the 'carceral', as Michel Foucault has described it.[2] These imperatives, which operate 'behind the backs' of the actors involved, comprise the normative power of a society and its institutions. They leave the question of the validity of the norms aside, in part because they represent a moral attitude which appears altogether natural and commonsensical. This moral attitude becomes a rationalization for policy and social conduct, precisely because its role is to compensate for the systematic flaws in social reality.

> The moral attitude appears when the technical and social conditions render positive forms of conduct impossible. Ethics is a collection of idealistic tricks intended to enable us to live the life imposed on us by the poverty of our resources and the insufficiency of our techniques. [3]

It is only an apparent paradox that the moral educator consider the morality of moral education.

When located in a prison, the usual Liberal Arts curriculum of the university is more obviously linked to an overarching 'hidden curriculum'. In the University of Victoria Program, this takes two dimensions: there is the level of a theory of moral development, and there is the level of the carceral itself. The two are linked symbiotically in Foucault's perspective, but it is reasonable to ask whether this must be the case. Others have discussed the importance of the structural separation of the university from the prison, stressing the independent contractual status of the resident instructors[4] and the necessity of physical isolation from the rest of the jail.[5] These are necessary but not sufficient conditions, however, for the uneasy relationship of ivory tower to watchtower can even extend into the classroom.

The University of Victoria Program has prided itself on the continuing elaboration of a theoretical stance appropriate to its practice. Ironically, although this is primarily an educational program, little has been written about the relation of the theory of moral development to actual teaching practice and preparation. Unlike most moral education programs inspired by Kohlbergian theories, development is indirectly sought because it is a university program that has worked very hard to offer a properly academic education.[6] Thus it might be presumed that moral development orientations must form a hidden curriculum; otherwise the dogmatic aspect of any applied theory might compromise university standards. However, concealed or not, the dogmatic threat persists. Moral and cultural relativism are cogent and even dominant perspectives in academic discourse. Anthropologists, for instance, actively promote it. We encourage our students to take anthropology precisely because it forces students to reconsider their own reified moral and social codes. A theory of moral development like Kohlberg's, in spite of its claims, lacks substantial cross-cultural verification, and can hardly be used to organize curriculum in this field.[7] A corollary of this is that we cannot require our instructors to teach some other kind of anthropology, and nor can we advertise for such a person even if he exists.

Still, in the correctional context, it might be presumed that a hidden agenda is the only adequate means of overcoming the prevalent hostility to anything that smacks of morality or therapeutic 'adjustment', so this soft or indirect approach is adopted. Yet it would be dishonest, not to say immoral, to mask a component of the program from students when it is of such interest to corrections. Whatever the status of rehabilitation programs, no matter how convinced criminologists and field workers may be that 'nothing works', a fundamental rationale for this program's existence remains its claims to change or habilitate individuals in some significant way. Now, this may be just a rationalization, or it might be a valid claim, but whichever it is, these claims are subject to potentially debilitating hostility on the part of convicts - and quite deservedly, inasmuch as it compromises the university. The relatively high profile of the Program in the correctional offices and conferences of the nation in recent years has caused innumerable problems of morale and purpose from the point of view of resident coordinators. Staff become subject to charges of careerism, student motivation takes increasingly pragmatic forms, and the relative solidarity of the group diminishes. But once a program attains relative success over a a period of time, it cannot choose to remain oblivious to its surroundings; nor can it afford to sit still on its merits. So the program must voluntarily maintain its function as a kind of ideal university dedicated to the liberal arts and the intrinsic values of education, yet orient its practice to a corrections setting through an informed, unitary, and appropriate theory. But it must also avoid the hidden curriculum, in the sense of a conscious set of background methods and assumptions which are constitutive of real, covert goals.

I The Soft Approach

In matters of curriculum, we have taken the soft approach. All students must take history and english because these are issue-oriented disciplines in which Kohlbergian-type moral dilemmas invariably arise, if only indirectly. But as Peter Murphy points out, the study of English has become a dominantly formal practice;[8] and History is equally rife with various forms of empiricism, which eschews the moral dimension of interpretation. Unless instructors have an appropriate 'take' on their discipline, the soft approach can easily become something else altogether. Sessional instructors[9] are not expected to fret about this problem; they often openly object to the validity of the theory or even the need for one. They receive no special teacher training, they are not briefed on the theory in advance, they are only to teach their course as they would in any other university. In certain circumstances, as can be envisaged, the soft approach could end in the simple offering of courses to inmates, undermining the raison d'être of the Program. This hypothetical and unlikely result serves to emphasize the crucial mediating role of the resident coordinators in the active nexus of theory and practice.

One way out of this ambiguity is to pursue the just community, and resident coordinators have been the main proponents of it. But theoretically, its role is to provide a forum for the actualization and practice of the principles already internalized in class.[10] So this leaves our coordinator/instructor in class, ensuring that the elements leading to a creative intermingling of theory and practice are in place there. In fact, this is his primary role. His administrative role, with respect to the university and the official paraphrenalia of the prison, is subordinate. Corrections staff (and many students) are prone to overlook this function, assessing his performance in the light of criteria appropriate to supervisory staff. When criticisms arise, everyone is quick to add that his teaching is not in question - as if that were a function quite separate from overall coordination. In truth, all authority begins in the classroom; the battle is won on that terrain and then radiates outward. And thus we return to the beginning of this paper and re-formulate the question more specifically: how does the resident coordinator and instructor who accepts the value of a moral development hypothesis employ it in everyday practice and avoid the double binds associated with the hidden curriculum?

II. Heuristics

The use of the term 'hidden curriculum' in the literature on curriculum is ambiguous.[11] As Michael Apple points out, historically, the hidden curriculum was not hidden at all, but was treated as the overt function of schools.[12] Originally, schools were a primary agency for inculcating values appropriate to the pioneer community.[13] Only later, with the rise of industrialization and the pressures of modernization, did the school take on more functional, training-oriented tasks. The original curriculum, to great extent, went underground. Afterall, its hegemonic role was well fixed in a core of commonsense categories and meanings "combining normative consensus and economic adjustment" incorporated in the very structure of formal education.[14]

> This is not to say that there have been no significant educational movements toward, say, education for self-development. But rather, behind these preferential choices about individual needs there was a more powerful set of expectations surrounding schooling which provided the constitutive structure of school experience. 14

It takes no great leap of the imagination to sense how much more immediate these imperatives are in prison, where 'deviants' have already rejected the hidden curriculum once (at least). The relative autonomy of the university program from the prison ameliorates these pressures somewhat, but the existence of this hidden curriculum always threatens to engulf our own theoretical hidden curriculum in its wake.

The adoption of a hidden curriculum, in the organized, intentional sense, is unacceptable then. Surely it is the role of universities to produce citizens who actively reflect on the interplay of appearance and reality, not to participate in it uncritically. The answer to this conundrum is deceptively simple: instead of adopting the moral attitude, adopt the heuristic attitude so as not to presume the accuracy of the theory in advance of its application. Jean-Paul Sartre, in a critique of scholastic Marxism, defines the heuristic attitude in this way:

> Thus living Marxism is heuristic; its principles and its prior knowledge appear as regulative in relation to its concrete research. In the work of Marx we never find entities. Totalities (e.g.,"the petite bourgeoisie" of the *18 Brumaire*) are living; they furnish their own definitions within the framework of research. Otherwise we could not understand the importance which Marxists attach (even today) to"the analysis" of a situation. It goes without saying that this analysis is not enough and that it is but the first moment in an effort at synthetic reconstruction. But it is apparent also the analysis is indispensable to the later reconstruction of the total structures.[15]

If we make the relevant substitutions and re-read this passage, moral development theory can be seen as an interpretative schema; its concepts keys to, and not locks on, reality. Sartre goes on:"The real content of these typical concepts is always *past Knowledge*; but today's Marxist makes of it an eternal knowledge. His sole concern, at the moment of analysis, will be to place these entities"[16](Stage 2, etc.). Heuristic method is a procedure for searching out an unknown goal by incremental explanation, according to some known criterion (e.g. reaching the top of an unfamiliar hill in a fog by making every step an upward one).[17] It may seem this is labouring the point, but in practice there is a tendency to turn theories of human praxis into a species of technical knowledge with clear, bilingual directions-for-use. This recipe knowledge is then applied to some subject (or is it object?) *as if it were quite* exterior to that subject. Heuristics requires that the moral developer too must develop morally, which in turn requires that he recognize that both teacher and theory are involved in the same process as the student. With this, the need to dissimulate is overcome, along with the misuse born of dogmatic application.

III. Heuristic Practice

It would be interesting to demonstrate how a heuristic approach to Kohlberg and Piaget can assist the professional historian in his own attempt to insert himself in the dialogue of past and present. Indeed, it is probably a key mediation in that it would be hypocritical and very difficult not to practice what one is about to preach.[18] To demonstrate how university curriculum might be approached in the light of the above, I will discuss how I organized an introductory course entitled Main Currents in 20th Century History.[19] This course is offered at least once a year on each of the U-Vic campuses; most of our students will have taken it, although not always in this format. It isn't possible to illustrate all the connections that might be made, in a heuristic sense, between the content and organization of this course and moral development theory, but, with a brief comment on Kohlberg's theory, a central theme can be clarified.

Kohlberg and R. Mayer have made this statement about theories of development:

> In contrast to "value free" approaches, the approach suggested by Dewey and Piaget considers questions of value or adequacy at the very start....Similarly, our work on ethical stages has taken a philosophic notion of adequate principles of justice (represented especially in the work of Kant and Rawls) to guide us in defining the direction of development. 20 (my emphasis)

The first thing we should notice about this is that if the direction of development is so dependent on 'adequate principles', then the interpretation of development will vary according to the suitability and adequacy of these 'philosophic notions' for the researcher. As such, the theory is more of a hermeneutic than people have allowed,[21] which means it is more adaptable to heuristic methods than one might have assumed. But for our immediate purposes, what is interesting is the characteristics of the direction of development. In the dimension of moral reasoning, the subject becomes increasingly autonomous in his ability to make judgements. Habermas, in his interpretation of Kohlberg and other developmental schemas, has isolated the characteristic elements of this movement towards autonomy.[22] Like other developmentalists, he stresses the importance of of role-taking for moral consciousness;[23] but, as far as I know, he is the only one to derive the levels of moral consciousness from corresponding levels of the competence to take roles.[24] Interestingly, the same elements are present: increasing reflexivity, abstraction, differentiation, and generalization. This can be clarified by following the movement through all three levels (See the attached schemata).[25]

Schema 3.

General Structures of Communicative Action — Qualifications of Role Behavior

Cognitive presuppositions	Levels of interaction	Action levels	Action motivations	Actors	Perception of Norms	Perception of Motives	Perception of Actors
I Preoperational thought	Incomplete interaction	Concrete actions and consequences of action	Generalized pleasure/pain	Natural identity	Understand and follow behavioral expectations	Express and fulfill action intentions (wishes)	Perceive concrete actions and actors
II Concrete-operational thought	Complete interaction	Roles, systems of norms	Culturally interpreted needs	Role identity	Understand and follow reflexive behavioral expectations (norms)	Distinguish between "ought" and "want" (duty/inclination)	Distinguish between actions and norms, individual subjects and role bearers
III Formal-operational thought	Communicative action and discourse	Principles	Competing interpretations of needs	Ego identity	Understand and apply reflexive norms (principles)	Distinguish between heteronomy and autonomy	Distinguish between particular and general norms, individuality and ego in general

Schema 4

Role Competence — Stages of Moral Consciousness

Age level	Level of Communication		Reciprocity requirement	Stages of moral consciousness	Idea of the good life	Domain of validity	Philosophical reconstruction	Age level
I	Actions and consequences of action	Generalized pleasure/pain	Incomplete reciprocity	1	Maximization of pleasure/avoidance of pain through obedience	Natural and social environment		IIa
			Complete reciprocity	2	Maximization of pleasure—avoidance of pain through exchange of equivalents		Naive hedonism	
II	Roles	Culturally interpreted needs	Incomplete reciprocity	3	Concrete morality of primary groups	Group of primary reference persons		IIb
	Systems of norms	(Concrete duties)		4	Concrete morality of secondary groups	Member of the political community	Concrete thought in terms of a specific order	
III	Principles	Universalized pleasure/pain (utility)	Complete reciprocity	5	Civil liberties, public welfare	All legal associates	Rational natural law	III
		Universalized duties		6	Moral freedom	All humans as private persons	Formalistic ethics	
		Universalized need interpretations		7	Moral and political freedom	All as members of a fictive world society	Universal ethics of speech	

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For our purposes we need only note a few things. In becoming autonomous, people become increasingly field-independent; that is, they differentiate themselves more and more from their context (family roles, etc.) and thus find themselves less and less in need of external authority to resolve conflict. Also, they increasingly reflect on this, reaching a point where they can see that norms can be normed; that is, that there can be principles underlying a given set of norms from which other norms can be derived. From the point of view of motivation, no distinction is made between the natural and social levels of gratification at the first level. At the second level, it is possible to distinguish between obligatory and merely desired actions - between duty and inclination, between social and natural imperatives. At the third level, the distinction between heteronomy and autonomy is made; that is, between merely traditional (or imposed) norms and those which are justified in principle. Thus orientations which guide action become more and more abstract, and are increasingly differentiated in regard to their claims on the justice of such actions; that is, at each level one differentiates out more abstract and universal considerations.

These perceptions concerning motivation are especially relevant to the historian, as is the related ability to generalize at increasing levels of complexity about the relation of actors to their roles. At the first level, no real distinction is made - there is only the concrete particular. At the next level, one can distinguish between actions and norms, and between individual subjects and role-bearers. Later, one can test norms for their generalizability; whether they are heteronomous, particular norms or general, more universal norms. With this, the individual can recognize that traditionally settled forms of life are often mere conventions, and irrational from the point of view of principled moral judgement. In the face of subsequently incompatible role expectations and contradictory experiences, he constructs an ego identity to replace role identity. "Actors meet as individuals across, so to speak, the objective contexts of their lives."[26]

Now these elements in the direction of development can be treated as elements in the heuristic construction of a curriculum. They essentially relate to questions of authority, roles, values, and motivations - elements which all historians work with. However, although human activity is one, historians, like the members of other disciplines, have their own way of treating it. The historian's commitment to the unique can thus obscure his shared, general preoccupations.[27] But there is no reason why this should become a deterrent, for a simple heuristic approach will prevent any slippage into the derivative realms of sociology and psychology.

IV. History 242 - Main Currents in 20th Century History

In the course outline and course assignments appended to this paper, we can find the molehill which has emerged from the mountain above. The general theme of this course can be clearly discerned from the long quote and comment in the outline. There is a not uncommon view of this century as the graveyard of liberal notions of progress (and development?). The apparently tragic outcome of the last great progressive ideal, socialist revolution, has sealed this opinion in a veritable time capsule. Consequently, there is a fatalism about human nature and alternate social arrangements that corresponds very nicely to the individualism and cynicism of egocentric views of world and self. My strategy is to directly confront this attitude, all the while proposing a more complex and even optimistic view of the possibilities. As Croce liked to say: "Pessimism of the intelligence, optimism of the will."

Students first read G. Barraclough's Introduction to Contemporary History. It is not a narrative account, but an attempt to disclose certain characteristics of the century; for instance, the shift from an Eurocentred world to include the so-called third world. This text puts the whole century in a larger interpretative perspective, and is intended to break down the sense of chaos and meaninglessness associated with the recent past by bringing forth some sense of necessity and pattern. It is also a great relativizing text, with enough iconoclastic perceptions to shake the received certainties of students.

The next text is E.H. Carr's The Russian Revolution, 1917-

-1929. We used to concentrate on the pre-revolutionary period, stressing the social character of the revolution while undermining the simplistic (and popular) notion of it as the conspiratorial outcome of the actions of a few great men; but this can be effectively covered in class. Instead, perplexed by the understandable failure of prisoners to differentiate amongst the 'they' embedded in various socio-political institutions, I chose to have them study the complex struggle over power and policy in the aftermath of revolution. In order to comprehend it, the student must:

a. differentiate between actors, their policies, the validity of same, and their motivations.
b. make judgements as to the abstract validity of the actor's goals and values
c. reflexively assess the context of these decisions and actions at several levels of intelligibility: the personal, the social, the political, and the moral.

After a short lecture on the widespread belief, in its popular and academic versions, that all revolutions have their Thermidor and end in the mere circulation of ruling groups, students are asked to write an essay on 'Whether Stalin's rise to power was inevitable or not'. This prods them into writing on aspects of the above, while forcing them to distinguish between natural and social causation(and ultimately heteronomy and autonomy). With this essay in hand, the instructor can assess reasonably well at which level his individual students are operating on.

The next section of the course deals with the rise of Fascism. The first text used is Blood of Spain, by R. Fraser. This oral history reproduces an incredible variety of individual responses to the Spanish Civil War, subtley representing every social position, every political position, every region, and every significant event of the period. The student is asked to create a character of the time and justify why he acted as he did. Issues treated in the third person above, are now treated in the first person. Still, the student must:

a. reflect on the conditions of the knowledge his character has.
b. differentiate between his role in the war and his actual personality.
c. assess the motivation of that character from the point of view of norms and values, and assess their validity in the abstract sense.

The essay forces the student to 'role-take' in a very sophisticated way. If he chooses to be himself while in inter-war Spain, that too is significant.

In this section, students also read Hannah Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem. As has been pointed out,[28] Hitlerian fascism is a touchy issue in jail. In trying to define it, students always make analogies between the RCMP and the SS, with CLEU operating as a kind of 'death-head' battalion. But then is it any wonder given our fascist government! At the same time, there is an undercurrent of sympathy for a movement which was paradoxical in essence: an elemental rebellion on behalf of authority. This text confronts the whole question head-on, forcing the student to assess the justifications of the main actors. In reflecting on the questions of historical interpretation Arendt raise, they must also reflect on moral judgement. An important 'by-product' of this is that they grasp that moral judgement and historical interpretation lie on the same continuum of knowing activity. We usually end up with a discussion of this point and its relation to my understanding of the Program. In the question they are asked to write on (see attached), all the issues of moral development theory are implicitly or explicitly touched on - and I tell the students how and why. Once again, they must:

a. differentiate between Eichmann's intentions and his acts, in the context of assessing the sources and arguments Arendt uses.
b. distinguish between laws, norms, and values; thus grasping (hopefully) a level of abstraction Eichmann could not.
c. reflect on why he could not, and on the whole issue of civil disobedience. Eichmann's justifications are very heteronomous (e.g. his argument that the law of the state is always legal and demands, rightly, obeisance is also justified as a traditional norm of state's rights).
d. they must deal with the difference between role-behaviour (Iwas only doing my job) and role distance(this is my job!!).

Although this might seem too philosophical and even manipulative, it really is the case that assessments of Fascism require systematic moral reflection, for it remains a contemporary problem.[29]

In the final section of the course, which covers the Cold War, American foreign policy, and 'third world' revolution, many of the properly historical questions initially raised in the reading of Barraclough and Carr re-appear; in particular, the apparent failure of revolution in bringing about qualitative change, and the complexities of struggle for power over policy. Here, however, the 'buzz word' is democracy. Lafeber's book relates foreign policy to the internal struggles of American democracy - especially between undemocratic policies and democratic ideals. Naturally, the morality of democracies pursuing anti-democratic foreign policies is pursued. In Chaliand's excellent comparative study, we get a sympathetic but uncompromising critique of revolutionary movements and their own claims to democracy and justice. A neat circle is tied when he criticizes the legacy of Leninism for its unheuristic practice. To underline the issues at stake, students also read selections from William Hinton's Fanshen, an idealistic account of democratic practice in a Chinese village, which is calculated to strain the student's capacity for belief to the breaking point.[30] Obviously this provocation has worked, for some of the vocabulary of the book has spilled into the prison. In Fanshen, 'to be on the gate' is to be tested for your revolutionary principles by the community. In jail, one is now 'on the gate' for parole, transfer, etc. Worse, U-Vic staff are now put 'on the gate' before 'people's court' for thought-crimes (a phrase from Orwell's 1984, which is used in another History course). The reader can now see why I have made so much of the heuristic approach: it is my best defense against the charge of thought-crime.

It should be obvious that the elements isolated from Kohlberg's 'direction of development' are repeated and taken-up in different ways in each section of the course. Like Kohlberg, we think that a moral education requires a just school - this only follows from the importance of role-taking in the theory. And no doubt it is apparent that the last section of History 242 on democracy is theoretically motivated. This link between curriculum, community, and democracy is found in all curriculum theorizing; but it is often hidden from sight and thus from critique.[31] In the UVic Program the stress on community, democracy, and development must be functioning at all levels of activity. It is rare that everything is in proper coordination in this respect, but it defines our own direction of development. The approach to curriculum I have tried to justify and sketch out here is consonant with this direction. Indeed, it is the primary mediation of all the elements that go into the making of a university program in jail. The heuristic attitude is simply the best way to keep theory open to practice and the necessity of critique. In this way both the King's messengers and Alice can keep a critical eye on the efforts of Her Majesty to make things 'better still; better, and better, and better!'

- FOOTNOTES -

1. This passage was brought to my attention by Michael Apple in Ideology and Curriculum, London, 1979, p. 123, in his discussion of labelling theory and, among other things, the hidden curriculum.

2. M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, New York, 1977. The carceral is essentially the 'hidden curriculum' of the prison, of which the prison itself is only a part. For a discussion, see the last two chapters of his book. M. Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain, New York, 1978, makes many of the same points with extensive empirical evidence. The reflections of L. Morin are also apposite: in L. Morin, L'Education Correctionelle Comme Pratique Du Discours Judiciare: Une Contradiction, Paper presented at the World Congress in Education, July 9, 1981, Trois-Rivieres, Quebec.

3. J.-Paul Sartre, quoted in S. de Beauvoir, Force of Circumstance, Middlesex, 1968, p. 210. He then discontinued his attempt to write an ethical philosophy.

4. Resident instructors, or resident coordinators, are full-time employees of the University of Victoria. They offer most of the 'core' courses in history and english, plus coordinate the local activities of the individual program for which he is responsible.

5. See the various papers of Ayers, Duguid, and Parlett.

6. See P. Scharf, ed., Readings in Moral Education, Minneapolis, 1978, Part II.

7. E.L. Simpson, "Moral Development Research: A Case Study of Scientific Cultural Bias", Human Development. 17:1974 p. 81-106. Also, S. Buck-Morss, "Socio-Economic Bias in Piaget's Theory and Its Implications for Cross-Culture Studies", in Human Development, 18: 1975, p. 35-49.

8. Peter Murphy, this conference.

9. Sessional instructors are hired by UVic on an individual contract basis to teach courses as need be. They have no other responsibilities in the Program.

10. S. Duguid, "Post Secondary Education in Prison: Theory and Praxis", Canadian Journal of Higher Education, Vol. X - 1 1980.

11. M. Apple, op.cit.; also, L. Kohlberg, "Stages of Moral

Development as a Basis for a Moral Education", Mimeo.

12. Apple, op. cit., p. 49

13. A. Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada, Toronto, 1977, for a Canadian example.

14. Apple, op.cit., p.50

15. J.P. Sartre, Search for a Method,New York, 1968, p. 26-27.

16. Ibid. p. 27

17. The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, London, 1977, p.282

18. See J. Habermas, Communication and the Evolution of Society, Boston, 1979; and his "History and Evolution", Telòs, #39, Spring 1979, p. 5-45; and Barrington Moore, Jr., Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt, New York, 1978.

19. The general form of this course is more Steve Duguid's than my own, and his initial reflections inspired me to think more seriously about the purpose behind the selection and organization of material for any course. The actual content and justification is largely my own, however.

20. L. Kohlberg, op. cit., p. 221

21. Strictly speaking, hermeneutics is the art of textual interpretation. This comment, however, refers to the notorious hermeneutic circle of interpretation. As Heidegger puts it: "Any interpretation which is to contribute understanding, must already have understood what is to be interpreted". This quote is from A. Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, New York, 1976, p. 56. In other words, all understanding involves some measure of pre-understanding in order for further understanding to be possible. Note the parallel to heuristics.

22. J. Habermas,"Moral Development and Ego Identity", Communication and the Evolution of Society, p. 87

23. Ibid., p.82-88; also, Kohlberg,"Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral Education", p. 51

24. Habermas, op.cit., p. 88

25. See the explication of T. McCarthy, The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, p. 345-349

26. Habermas, op.cit., p.86

27. E. H. Carr, What is History?, Middlesex, 1974, Ch. 3

28. S. Duguid, "History and Moral Education in Correctional Education" Canadian Journal of Education, Vol. 4, #4, 1979, p.87-88.

29. E. H. Carr, op.cit., p.82

30. S. Duguid, "History and Moral Education...", p. 86, for the original experience.

31. M. Apple, op.cit., p.68-73

HISTORY 242-3: MAIN CURRENTS IN 20th CENTURY HISTORY

"A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress. (Walter Benjamin, 1940)

In this course we will investigate some of the major responses to this pile of debris called progress; that is, the set of problems and challenges posed by capitalist industrial development in the 19th century. In particular, we will look at the successes and failures of various socialist revolutions.

In Part I of the course, we will first read Geoffrey Barraclough's An Introduction to Contemporary History. This will be followed by E. H. Carr's The Russian Revolution 1917-1929: From Lenin to Stalin. Here we will focus on the dilemmas of development in a hostile environment.

Part II will deal with the Fascist response. We will read Ronald Fraser's Blood of Spain, an oral history of the Spanish Civil War. Hopefully, this will be supplemented by a symposium featuring Canadians who fought voluntarily in that war. This will be followed by Hannah Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem, an account of the trial of Adolf Eichmann for 'crimes against humanity'. The vexed question of the relationship of morality to law will be discussed here.

Part III deals with Third World revolutions and American foreign policy. The books will be Walter LaFeber's America, Russia and the Cold War, and Gerard Challiand's Revolution in the Third World, supplemented by selections from William Hinton's account of revolution in a Chinese village, Fanshen. An important aspect of this section will be the attempt to define what is democratic and what is not, and the extent to which democracy is even desirable.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

There will be three examinations, one following each of the three parts of the course. Each exam will be worth 20% of the final grade. There will also be a research assignment of no less than 10 typed pages, worth 30% of the grade. The remaining 10% will be awarded on the basis of participation in class discussions.

HISTORY 242 - Second Exam

This is a take-home exam. It is due on November 7th. There are three essays to be written. The two below are worth 40% each. A certain Mr. Melendez will be giving you a third essay which will be worth 20%. Mr. Myles Sartor will also be available for advice on how to write exams like this; it is part of his responsibilities as Study Skills tutor, so use him.

Each of these two essays should be about 1000-1500 words long; use footnotes, doublespace, and keep it neat.

1. For Arendt, the postwar trials touch upon 'one of the central moral questions of all time, namely upon the nature and function of moral judgement.' (p.294) Although the Jerusalem court did not fear to judge, she claims it failed to come to grips with three basic issues: the problem of impaired justice in the court of the victors; a valid definition of the 'crime against humanity'; and a clear recognition of the new criminal who commits this crime. (p.274) Answer either a. or b.
   a. If you fundamentally disagree with her, write your own ideal judgement of Eichmann. Make sure you deal with the 3 basic issues and any of her other major points!
   b. If you fundamentally agree with her, address yourself specifically to the following issues. i) 'For politics is not like the nursery; in politics obedience and support are the same'.(p.279)
      ii) the whole question of whether subjective intent can be ignored in Eichmann's case. (p.277)
      iii) Her argument that Eichmann was unable to think because of his 'egocentricity'. (p.47-49)

      Keep the 3 basic issues in mind at all times!

2. Ronald Fraser's Blood of Spain attempts to articulate the subjective outlooks and motivations of the people involved in the Spanish Civil War. Which side would you have supported? Which political group would you have belonged to, if any? Give yourself a realistic identity and write your justification for acting as you did in the Spanish Civil War.

MORAL EDUCATION IN PRISON: A COGNITIVE APPROACH

John E. Lewis and Mark M. McKechnie

The concept of moral education is fraught with difficulties in definition, elaboration and implementation. Central to this issue is the need for a more encompassing assumption that will include not only moral reasoning but cognitive levels of functioning. A scan of the literature reveals preliminary findings suggesting that penitentiary inmates differ markedly in their conceptual systems and cognitive levels; these differences tend to be both in terms of degree and quality. The summative impact that these differences have on personality may establish a pattern of criminogenic behavior, which may, consequently, affect educational performance.

It is our contention that in order to pursue a course in moral education in a penitentiary setting, the function and structure of cognition must be explored in a rigorous, precise fashion. This exploration is in essence, the argument of form versus content. Before an educator can hope to change the values and belief systems of an incarcerated individual, a more thorough examination of cognition must take place.

Dare we say that inmates possess a fragment, functional and distorted view of experience? Do they seize irrelevant or self-defeating precepts as determined by blurred, episodic and tenuous views of life? Do inmates lead unstructured and chaotic lives?

Many investigations have confirmed that these traits do exist in criminals. Yeudall has pointed to a high level of disinhibition and impulsivity as a key factor in violent behaviour. Campbell (1980) has also examined the variable of impulsivity for learning styles. A scan of the available literature seems to indicate an impairment in the formation of plans and intentions at the higher levels of cognitive, intellectual functioning, which involve abstract reasoning and concept formation.

Wishnie (1977) conducted an extensive study of habitual criminals. He found the institutionalized criminal to be basically ego-centric, impulsive and illogical; he further discovered that the impulsive person tended to see other people as unreal, cardboard cut-outs, and make illogical assumptions. They also tended to view things and people in an all-or-none, black and white fashion.

How do we, as correctional educators, alter perception, elaboration and criminal behaviour? Before the issues of moral education can be addressed, a more thorough examination of how inmates think and perceive the world must be undertaken; from this a strict consideration of methodology on education can follow.

Much attention has been focused upon the somewhat recent notion that criminal behaviour is intimately connected with errors in thinking; that is, criminals become criminal through a process of active choice, based on cognitive errors. The tendency to reduce the etiology of criminal behaviour to a single variable is tempting, but erroneous; however such a notion has tremendous import for correctional educators; it is the area of cognitive, error-based choices that is of vital concern.

Albert Ellis has offered a rigorous and somewhat satisfying approach to this issue. He has stated quite simply, that people have an inherent proclivity to think irrationally. The validity of such a position rests upon how one views cognition in terms of behaviour and the very process of becoming. Ellis believes that cognition plays a vital, pivotal, role in behaviour. Humans perceive, think and respond in a simultaneous fashion; each event, situation, response, and act of consciousness has a cognitive component. Cognition performs a mediating function between stimulus and response. Stated more succinctly, in order to act, we first have to perceive, elaborate and respond. If one changes both the structure and content of cognition, one changes behaviour.

Ellis in his clinical practice has striven to effect changes in cognition through confrontation with the client's belief systems. Such an approach has proved valuable in psychotherapy. The implications for correctional educators are non-therapeutic; the content and educational methodology could be rationally based aimed at the logical consistency of arguments, based on empirical forms of data. Such an approach has been advocated and used at Matsqui Institution, British Columbia.

Ross (1980) presented an external review and evaluation of the successful University of Victoria educational program at Matsqui Institution. He pointed out that penitentiary inmates have experienced a developmental delay in the aquisition of cognitive skills; this particular assumption focuses on the goal of social perspective - taking as opposed to ego-centric thought, the latter of which occurs frequently with inmates. It was assumed from the completing of university level courses, that higher cognitive function occurred, however no information was provided on the nature of the cognitive changes. Ross stressed a need to clarify the connection between cognitive and moral development.

Ayers (1979) has argued the need to replace the medical model with an educational model in dealing with penitentiary inmates. He stressed that the criminal is not a passive recipient of environment factors, but rather an active decision maker; a dynamic participant in his own architectual scheme. Ayers also proposed that criminals possess faulty cognitive skills, retarded moral development, and poor interpersonal skills. Education in the area of liberal arts may therefore be an effective means to open up new avenues of thought, personal growth and self-expression.

Campbell (1980) in a study on delinquency looked at "the variable of impulsivity". He explored a mediational deficit theory of impulsivity. He was concerned that individuals who have not developed the appropriate mediational skills would experience trouble in learning and problem-solving; this mediation is verbal and is defined as a relevant internal language which the person employs when confronted with a novel situation in which problem-solving is essential. Campbell proposed that self-instruction training based on the verbal-mediation deficit hypothesis be used. This approach is therefore advocating an intervention strategy at the cognitive level.

It is our contention that if this (body of data) has any validity at all, then some kind of remedial interventionist approach must occur; such an approach must take place at the linguistic level, the perceptual level, the cognitive level and the cultural level. Such a methodology can be found, in three principal sources -- Ellis, Whorf, and Feuerstein.

As stated before, the psychotherapeutic ideas of Ellis can be translated for use by the correctional educator. Both education and the quality of information and insight, brings to bear a pressure to modify behaviour; because awareness and insight affect behaviour, those programs which foster problem-solving skills must be enhanced; skill training could serve an effective purpose in values clarification. An emphasis upon problem-solving skills and values education are essential to effect change. A rational based methodology based on the logical consistency of arguments and empirically tested forms of reasoning could be used; discussions centered upon solipsism ego-centrism and subjective relativism would be discouraged. Finally the old notions of modelling and role playing in the areas of language, thought and behaviour could help to initiate and reinforce such modification.

Whorf, a linguist, has hypothesized that language is the main component that gives the individual the ability to establish a perceptual framework of existence; language is pivotal for both ideation and patternment. Language allows for a "reciprocal equation" between language and experience; that is to say to know one's language is to know one's view of life and vice versa. Concomitantly, the relationship between cognitive processes and conceptual frameworks is tightly woven with the very structure of our language. What is of great interest to correctional educators is that perception and memory are not only selected, but distorted, allowing for an avenue of change. The main point is that:

> The change is towards a meaningful whole....ambiguous stimuli gets structured, irrelevant details drop out, relevant points get sharpened and unfamiliar or neutral objects are assimilated to more familiar ones.

Selectivity and distortion is higher when the stimulus is unstructured. Literature and meaningful writing can provide a remedial solution. Literature is itself a highly structured self-contained universe of symbols and patterns which the reader can "engage". The very act of reading involves duration, which in turn involves a confluence of modification, enhancement, identification, catharsis and change. The process of writing allows the individual to devise new methods of understanding, and self expression.

Reuven Feuerstein has developed a program aimed at cognitive modification. He feels that one's cognitive ability can be modified by appropriate experience. This remediation can occur at the three cognitive levels of input, elaboration and output. Feuerstein is advocating an "active" approach to modification. The cognitive functions that can be actively changed include, use of strategies for testing hypothesis, capacity to deal with several pieces of information simultaneously, eposidic grasps of reality and impulsive cognitive decisions. For a more detailed list of the cognitive deficiences, the reader is directed to Feuerstein (1980) and Narrol and Narrol (1977). Feuerstein's theory of cognitive modifiability can be of great use to the correctional educator; this theory would indicate that criminals approach the world differently and attach different meanings and perceptions to the world and experience; to provide help with this inadequate view, Feuerstein has offered the solution of Mediation or Mediated Learning Experience; that is, the criminal may be experiencing unactualized cognitive potential that has been caused by the lack of appropriate mediation at an early age. This lack of mediation in turn has resulted in a faulty transmission of the culture and formation of inappropriate linkages between objects, events and people; the criminal then becomes "culturally deprived", that is deprived of his own culture. Feuerstein's program of Mediated Learning Experience or Instrumental Enrichment uses content-free exercises designed to establish operational systems which will determine new ways of interacting with the sensory world that are different from the forms used to deal with the experiences that are direct, and instant; that is Feuerstein is advocating the need to establish connections and relationships between sets of experience and experienced events, through comparative thinking. The instruments developed by Feuerstein could be of great use to the correctional educator; in fact at this time, four pentitentiaries in Canada have been selected to implement some of the principles of Instrumental Enrichment.

Let us restate some of the thoughts contained above. It is our contention that moral education presupposes cognitive education; that is, in order to teach critical thinking, moral reasoning, problem solving behavior and values clarification, we as correctional educators need to not only examine cognitive processes, but also to, somehow, enhance basic skills of cognition and strengthen the underlying structures of cognitive functioning. We must do this however, in conjunction with the various academic skills programs, such as reading and writing. It is through this active cognitive modificational process that inmates may improve academic, moral and social performance. We await with eagerness any new developments in this rapidly expanding field.

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SOCIAL EDUCATION: SOME PERSPECTIVES AND COMMENTS

Paul Gendreau

With the publication of Robert Martinson's article "What works? - Questions and answers about prison reform" in 1974 in Public Interest a heated debate was initiated regarding the effectiveness of correctional intervention programs. Initially, Martinson's views and the nothing works doctrine in part spawned a variety of other correctional philosophies (cf. Empey, 1979). Among these were the deterrence doctrine which argued for swifter arrest, longer sentencing, increased incapacitation, and selective deterrence of specialized offenders e.g., the "leave the kiddies alone approach", the "justice-as-fairness" model, and the radical criminology which all have disavowed intervention programs of the sort typically employed e.g., counselling, behaviour modification etc.

Unfortunately, as we commented before (Gendreau & Ross, 1979) the rhetoric among various camps was colourful, even brilliant at times, but the objectivity was sadly lacking. Ad hominem attacks were common and the antagonists who represented various disciplines were more intent on winning debating points than on seeking truth.

During the latter part of the decade we along with others (e.g., Palmer, 1975; 1978) argued that in fact there were a variety of effective correctional intervention programs. There were, moreover, a variety of legitimate reasons why correctional intervention programs had by and large failed. Some studies were so poorly evaluated that no firm conclusions could be reached, other programs applied either inappropriate procedures or at least ones that had no a priori reasons for success and most important many suffered from a complete lack of therapeutic integrity i.e., intensity and quality of service delivery was largely absent.

While, Martinson's review - and many since then - debated the correctional intervention literature circa 1967 we reported in 1979 that there were several dozen programs attempting to treat anti-social behaviours, the majority being quite effective. Subsequently, in 1980 we drew attention to a number of exemplary intervention programs that not only were impressive from an evaluation standpoint, but were methodologically sophisticated and evidenced such qualities as therapeutic integrity, potent results and long-term follow-up (Ross & Gendreau, 1980). Furthermore, the evidence in this area compared very well to other attempts at combating delinquency such as deterrence (Gendreau & Ross, 1981).

These effective programs were in the area of family and community intervention, contingency management programs which were basically behaviour modification oriented, counselling studies primarily founded in a social-learning modelling-based approach to behaviour change, and programs using various techniques embedded in a diversion or probation framework. Ineffective programs, on the other hand, have been found to be quite distinct from those that were effective (Gendreau & Ross, 1981). These were non-directive counselling approaches, specific kinds of behaviour modification programs which didn't follow elementary principles for effective behaviour modification, programs based on a medical model, and most deterrence programs.

Given the above summary it is important to note that certain kinds of programs deserve emphasis for future intervention strategy. And, "educators" (I am using the term in the broadest sense) have a particularly meaningful role to play. I am not referring to the traditional stereotype of education i.e., teaching reading, writing skills etc., but that of adopting roles embedded in a socio-cognitive framework. There is strong evidence that the delay in acquisition of cognitive skills is associated with the development of social deviation of various forms including delinquency (Chandler, 1972; Gough, 1948). Moreover, a number of early studies of perceptual-cognitive functioning demonstrate the important role of cognitive development in delinquent behaviour (e.g., Baker & Sarbin, 1956).

More specifically, the recent research indicates that a major component of many effective delinquency prevention programs is an intervention strategy which leads to cognitive development or the enhancement of the offender's interpersonal problem-solving skills. For example, Chandler (1973) found impressive reductions in delinquent behaviour in delinquents as a result of a program designed to affect cognitive factors presumed to be mediating delinquent behaviour. Ostrom, et al (1971); Sarason & Ganzer (1978); and Wade, et al (1977) reported major reductions in illegal behaviour as a result of treatment designed in part to enhance the offender's cognitive problem-solving skills. Reductions in recidivism with juvenile delinquents or adolescent offenders have been obtained through programs which incorporate interpersonal skills training (Collingwood, et al, 1976; Lee & Haynes, 1980; Phillips, et al, 1973) or communications and conflict negotiation (Alexander & Parsons, 1973; Seidman, et al, 1976). Platt, et al, (1980) produced similar results using problem solving and guided group intervention on adult offenders, primarily drug abusers, many of whom had lengthy criminal histories.

While, the above noted programs have been primarily designed and operated by psychologists it could be a serious mistake to apply discipline-bound blinders to future intervention enterprises. Much of what has been done in the name of effective intervention has, as noted above, implications for education models. The University of Victoria (UVIC) education program at Matsqui penitentiary (cf. Ayers, 1979; Duguid, 1979) and the Rideau alcohol program (Kennedy, 1980) are two cases in point. In the strictest sense both could be labelled as education programs. To do that would be a disservice. Both programs, in the author's opinion, in varying degrees are multi-faceted, emphasize cognitive development and interpersonal problem solving skills training, and mobilize the peer group as a pro-social force. Not surprisingly these components have been shown to be an integral factor in programs with offenders in community and institutional settings (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Phillips, et al, 1973, Ross & McKay, 1978), institutionalized adult offenders (Platt, et al, 1980) and with female offenders (Marino, 1976). To date both are viable and producing beneficial effects. Indeed, it would be reasonable to predict that future attempts at developing intervention programs in a general education-based framework in corrections should review the UVIC and Rideau models.

There are other related issues that deserve brief mention. Educators, of whatever stripe, would do well to consider the following factors that have bedevilled evaluators and program developers in the past (cf. Gendreau & Ross, 1979). Reliance on a single intervention strategy and measure of outcome is foolhardy. Fortunately these faults are seen less and less in the literature. However, a failure to consider how different training procedures interact with individual differences remains an issue. Programs must be tailor made - it also helps if they have a strong theoretical rationale - to the types of clients received. Programs should also have a better realization of problems within the system they operate in. The lack of inter-relationship among agencies providing services relevant to offenders is a particularly potent problem as well as the relative disregard of corrections managers to variables in the system itself that can influence program development and maintenance (Gendreau & Andrews, 1979).

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MATCHING PRISON EDUCATION TO LEARNING STYLES[1]

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and
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Introduction

Roger Caron, author of Go Boy (1979), and Richard Nixon, author of Watergate, have in common their label of being, or having been criminals. But for their capitalizing on their exploits in print, the similarity stops. Caron, by his own account, is a hot-headed, impulsive orphan of conventional society. Nixon, one would guess, is a cool-headed, reflective product of conventional society. Caron went to jail many times, Nixon not once.

We know that criminal behaviour is no strict respecter of social class, yet we also know it is the Carons of the world who most often find themselves behind prison walls. The inequities of this apparent failure of our justice system aside, we would expect to find in prisons a disproportional number of persons who are impulsive in their behaviour. And there is considerable evidence which bears out this prediction. (Feuerstein, 1980; Ward and Yeudall, 1980; Messer, 1976; Spivack, Platt and Shure, 1976).

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From nearly 40 years ago, psychologist Kurt Lewin reminds us that one's behaviour is a function of both person and environment variables, and not solely the product of one or the other. Therefore, given the observation that many inmates carry with them the person variable of impulsivity, educators of inmates will need to consider the sort of learning environment which best suits this characteristic. Implicit in this statement is the notion that the prison school ought not simply transfer from the outside a typical school environment and expect it to work. This outside environment has had decades to perfect itself in dealing with heterogeneous populations of students. It does not provide a setting which matches the requirements of a prison population homogeneous to the extent it is disproportionally impulsive.

What follows in this paper is a discussion of the learning style construct of impulsivity and some conjectures about how educational strategies in prisons might be planned in order to address this learning style. A secondary purpose is to demonstrate an approach to the general issue of matching education to styles, using impulsivity as an example.

Defining impulsivity

Before a learning style construct[3] such as impulsivity can be of use to the teacher in the classroom, it must satisfy at least two criteria. First, it must be amenable to a definition upon which users can agree; and second, it must offer up descriptions of behaviour which occur in typical classroom settings. At issue here are the requirements of construct validity which includes discriminant validity (the first criterion above) and ecological validity (the second).

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[2] Defined as executive controls on cognitive functioning (Guilford, 1980), as the stable ways in which persons differ in perception and encoding information (Wittrock, 1979) and as the degree of some manner rather than level of performance (Kogan, 1971). Learning styles account for variance in cognitive functioning not reflected in measures of general intelligence.

This issue of construct validity is hardly a moot one. During the past 40 years, style constructs have emerged in the literature with the abandon and proliferation of mushrooms after a shower, with little attention given to their possible overlap (see Messick,1970). Styles are typically measured with high inference, paper-and-pencil, non-verbal and often bizarre instruments. The behaviours these instruments elicit do not always bear an obvious resemblance to typical, day-to-day behaviour a student might exhibit in a classroom. If good construct validity cannot be shown for these styles and if the behaviours we observe are simply artifacts of the instruments themselves, then questions about their utility may simply go the way of such bygone debates as how many angels can dance on the head of a pin.

How ought impulsivity be defined so that it provides a useful construct for description and prediction in prison education? The definition first provided comes from the work of Kagan and his associates (1965, 1966) who proposed the style continuum of reflection-impulsivity. One's position on this continuum is determined by performance on the Matching Familiar Figures Test. The test confronts the subject with a series of ambiguous tasks in the form of line drawings which vary only slightly from a master drawing. As the subject attempts to match the master with the correct drawing, measures are taken on speed of responding and number of errors. Those who respond quickly with a high error rate are described as impulsive.

This operational definition of the learning style has undergone some useful mutations, with the result that errors in decision-making is the variable of primary interest (Block and Block, 1974; Messer, 1976). What emerges is a construct built on an examination of deficiencies in cognition which produce errors in complex, ambiguous problem-solving situations.

The Senate report, Child at Risk (1980), argues that violent behaviour may be attributed to deficient learning in response to chronic stress during the early years. A number of investigators elaborate on this theme. Feuerstein (1980) develops a cognitive deficit hypothesis in which impulsive acts are the result of insufficient or inappropriate mediated learning experience. A deficit in one's early learning produces undeveloped exploratory skills reflected in difficulties with problem definition, with goal orientation and with systematic search for relevant cues in the environment. Kendall and Finch (1976, 1979) propose a response inhibiting control hypothesis. They argue that impulsive persons fail to inhibit immediately perceived ways of responding in the face of ambiguity. Alternative ways of responding and consideration of their consequences are not sought. Meichenbaum (1977,1979) elaborates upon the mechanisms which lead to such failures. Private speech is proposed as a mediating activity which controls voluntary behaviour. In a three-stage, developmental process, one's behaviour comes under the control of covert speech (verbal mediation) which provides for self-regulation and monitoring. In the first stage, overt speech by others (parents, other adults in authority) largely govern the child's decisions; in the second, the individual's own overt speech assumes the regulation role; and in the third, speech is internalized, becoming covert self-direction. Jensen (in Meichenbaum, 1977) describes this verbal mediation process as "talking to one's self in relevant ways when confronted with something to be learned, a problem to be solved, or a concept to be attained. In adults the process generally becomes quite automatic and implicit..." We would add that if the process fails to become automatic, a deficient learning style results. Errors in decision-making might lead to, among other things, criminal behaviour.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) reject impulsivity as a prevalent characteristic of the criminal, yet they do so only because of the speed or tempo component. They point out in their assessment of the criminal personality that offenders often report considerable planning and forethought before criminal actions. But their analysis confirms the error aspect of impulsivity which we have argued ought to be the primary focus in discussion of this deficient style. Yochelson and Samenow describe errors in thinking which stem from failures to attend to all relevant cues in one's environment, a failure to engage in monitoring and assessing one's performance, and a failure to evaluate the consequences of courses of action. Action is often based on faulty assumptions and acceding to immediate desires. In other words, the criminal is deficient in self-monitoring and regulatory skills and thus meets our definition of cognitive impulsivity.

In this attempt to define cognitive impulsivity, we are left with determining its construct validity. From what has been previously noted, it is apparent that impulsivity trespasses on other learning style constructs. A study by the authors (Campbell and Davis, 1981) explored the extent to which impulsivity accounts for variance in other styles; that is, the discriminant validity of the measure. It was predicted that reflection-impulsivity would significantly correlate with field dependence-independence (Witkin, 1977), conceptual level (Hunt, 1971, 1977) and attentional focus (Nideffer, 1976, 1977).

Field dependence-independence is a cognitive style which attempts to account for the degree to which a person is able to perceive and encode discrete information from the environment. Persons who tend to be field dependent, unlike their independent counterparts, perceive their environment holistically, do not use its discrete elements, and thus fail to make what may be important discriminations. Because of this failure to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant cues in one's environment, the field dependent person's behaviour tends to become "lost" when highly salient cues are absent, or tends to be guided by social orientations provided by other persons. As might be expected, impulsive persons tend to be field dependent (Messer, 1976). In the face of uncertainty or ambiguity, they inefficiently scan the environment for cues and may offer a response which shows an absence of reflective thought. It can be inferred that executive control of behaviour through cognitive mediation is either blocked or impaired by immediate and salient external cues. In a school setting highly impulsive and dependent persons might tend to be followers, group oriented, non-committal or perhaps oscillating in their behaviour, and reluctant to formulate conclusions without reassurance.

Conceptual level (Hunt, 1971) is another cognitive style construct which has a conceptual similarity to aspects of reflection-impulsivity. Hunt describes conceptual level as the degree to which one possesses fully developed internal structures or representations of one's self and others. Persons with a low conceptual level are described as egocentric, as impulsive and as having a low tolerance for frustration and ambiguity. They therefore require a learning environment characterized by high structure and low uncertainty. Persons with a high conceptual level are characterized as independent and reflective. They cope easily with choosing among alternatives and therefore do well in learning environments without imposed structure. Hunt (1971) reports that delinquency among a sample of low CL boys was significantly higher than among a high CL group.

A central aspect of each of the cognitive styles described above is the attending behaviour of the student. In eye movement studies conducted on subjects while reading or solving a visual problem, impulsive adults and children make fewer eye fixations than the more accurate responders (Drake, 1970; Craighead, 1978). Impulsive search and scanning strategies are typically unsystematic, random and global. Other attentional characteristics of the impulsive person include those associated with hyperactivity - off task behaviour, irrelevant talk and movement and lack of self-control (Douglas,1972; Campbell, 1973; Margolis et al., 1977; Kendall & Wilcox, 1979.)

Therefore, if a student fails to scan the environment for appropriate information in an ambiguous situation, errors in thinking are likely and the student may be perceived as being impulsive; in the absence of internal cues, the student must rely on external direction which contributes to field-dependency; and the perceived low structure in the environment would frustrate the student having a low conceptual level. The student whose styles interfere with the "quality" of time on task will likely exhibit poor school performance when school conditions permit.

Twelve inmate students (six male, six female) were administered tests of reflection-impulsivity (the Matching Familiar Figures Test, adult version), of field dependence-independence (the Group Embedded Figures Test), of conceptual level (the paragraph completion test) and of attentional focus (sub-test of Test of Attentional and Interpersonal Style).

Rank -order correlations between the reflection-impulsivity measure (error rate) and the remaining style measures were significant ($\overline{X}_r = /.65/$), yet none of the remaining style measures correlated significantly with each other.

In order to demonstrate ecological validity, it is necessary to show that behaviours associated with reflection-impulsivity are reliably recognized in non-contrived classroom settings. In the same study, it was demonstrated that of the four styles examined, only behaviours associated with reflection-impulsivity were reliably identified. Observers were teachers of the students and naive judges who viewed the students in their classrooms on videotape.

These patterns suggest that reflection-impulsivity demonstrates good construct validity and may be used as a more global construct than implied by the literature. It shares attributes with other style constructs (which are not shared among themselves) and it also leads to reliably recognized behaviours in the classroom.

The purpose of the discussion to this point has been to piece together an educationally useful definition of cognitive impulsivity and to describe its underlying psychological processes. This necessary foundation will provide the base for the next step which is to describe matching educating environments.

Matching environments

Our expanded definition of impulsivity offers teachers a unified construct for addressing what appears to be a particularly salient learning style characteristic of a high proportion of inmates. It has been demonstrated that this style can be reliably observed and can account for an array of interdependent behaviour patterns.

As we consider matching our school environments with a learning style, there are two basic options before us. Either the learning environment can be made sufficiently adaptive so that style differences are accommodated; or deficient styles can be modified, leaving the environment unchanged. An approach which combines both of these options seems appropriate. The impulsive inmate student has had years to learn his style and it cannot be changed overnight. Therefore, if initial school experiences are to be effective, the environment must be accommodating. The long term goal, however, is to modify this deficient style so that the student can eventually become a self-sufficient and effective learner.

Given our characterization of the cognitively impulsive student as a poor decision-maker (unsystematic scanning and exploratory skills, lack of goal oriented behaviour, failure to inhibit immediately perceived ways of responding) an accommodating learning environment would be highly structured, consisting of 1) a high concensus curriculum which minimizes ambiguity and uncertainty, 2) a teacher as primary decision-maker, 3) a small group as opposed to an individualized format, 4) small increments in objectives which are easily attainable, 5) frequent feedback, 6) minimum distraction and 7) high interest.

Once the student has acquired some degree of confidence, comfort and success in an accommodating environment, he would enter a parallel program intended to enhance a more reflective style of dealing with his environment. In their overviews of the literature on impulsivity, Kendall and Finch (1979) and Messer (1976) conclude that such a shift can be accomplished and that the most powerful re-educating approaches for the adult are likely those which involve practice on attentional and self-verbalization strategies. Self-instruction procedures employed by Meichenbaum (1975, 1977) asks the student to overtly verbalize problem definitions, alternative approaches to resolution and his attending behaviour. The procedures force the student to use verbal mediation for which he has the capacity but perhaps not the practice or inclination to do.

What might be the content and means for delivering such a program in a prison setting? Looking first at the question of delivery, a means is required which allows the student to be introspective about his behaviour and to practice new ways of thinking about a problem in a setting which is guided, non-threatening and safe yet at the same time probing and reactive. In the authors' study on impulsivity previously cited, videotape feedback was found to be a potentially powerful educating method which meets these criteria. Each student was videotaped during class sessions and then watched a playback of the tape with the investigator. The tape served as a cue to memory and a mirror of behaviour. While viewing, students were asked to comment on their attending and thinking behaviour (verbal mediation activities). Although this method was used only for data gathering, it became apparent that videotape feedback has a unique potential for engaging the student in the initial stages of cognitive self-instruction. The utility of videotape feedback for assisting individuals in the assessment and modification of their behaviour has been noted in a number of other contexts (See Hung and Rosenthal, 1978) and invites further research as an approach to the education of the impulsive inmate student.

Another and equally as important aspect of a method designed to enhance reflective thinking styles is the curriculum content. To be sure, what Ayers (1981) has referred to as medical-therapeutic and environmental-reconditioning models of rehabilitation have not adequately addressed this question. Perhaps it will be through the recent elaboration of humanistic-educational models that the content side will be developed (e.g. the Symposium on Prison Education, 1981; Ayers, 1981; Duguid, 1979; Cosman, 1980). It is argued in this literature that deficiencies in cognitive development may be ameliorated through re-education. Change is imparted through the power of a carefully selected curriculum.

The University of Victoria Program at Matsqui Prison, for example, attempts to promote cognitive and moral development using the liberal arts and school community as vehicles (Ayers, Duguid and Montagne, 1980). Two sorts of goals are anticipated for students: the development of alternative points of view through "de-centering", and the development of a greater understanding of the reciprocal nature of society and the individual's role within it. We would argue that the first goal is essentially a reduction in impulsivity. Students are encouraged to generate alternative hypotheses to explain events and to predict likely consequences rather than jump at first available or most obvious conclusions.

The literature which is calling for an educational model can be characterized as an attempt to reconstruct prison education based on a curriculum theory about the nature of the inmate and of the sort of "knowing" which is believed will benefit the inmate student. As with most curriculum theories and prescriptions for content which emanate from them, little attention is paid to the mechanisms for delivery and student-content interaction. It is the opposite of the problem mentioned above with many therapeutic and reconditioning models. We suggest, therefore, that the effectiveness of humanistic-educational models would be enhanced by the explicit incorporation of instructional theory such as we have described for the modification of cognitive impulsivity. It is all well and good to say that the Trans-Canada Highway will get you from Kingston to Victoria. But when or if you arrive will depend on the known dependability of the vehicle you select.

Summary

Current models of prison education stress the need to address cognitive deficiencies which lead the criminal toward errors in decision-making. The literature on cognitive impulsivity provides evidence of a deficient learning style which may result in such errors. It has been shown that the impulsivity construct can provide dependable and valid measures of a cluster of behaviours evident in the typical in-class activity of inmate students. The same literature suggests that more reflective styles of thinking are likely to occur if the inmate is provided guided practice in the overt verbalization of mediational activity during decision-making. A method is described which combines self-instruction training and videotape feedback. The method shares the goal of certain educational curriculae intended to enhance reflective thought. It is suggested that further research be carried out to evaluate the combined effects of the method and curriculum with inmate students.

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NATIVE AMERICANS & OTHER PEOPLE

Randall Ackley

John Dewey suggested some time ago that a teacher, or a school, must start with the student. The basic "problem" with education and Native students is the failure to begin with the student. Schools are obviously projections of the dominant society. In our case, Anglo-American middle class. Also, schools, like all institutions, drift far behind society providing a restraining influence and maintaining the status quo as long as possible. So, we have a nineteenth century institution based upon the needs and attitudes of the Anglo-American middle class. This institution confronts a Native American student with a complete alien barrage.

If I were to pick up an advanced chemistry text, I would find it incomprehensible. This does not mean that I am illiterate. If I were to find myself alone in the middle of the jungle or forest, I would be likely to become food for the animals within a day,at most within a week. This does not mean that I am ignorant nor stupid. When a person is confronted by too many unknowns, there is only frustration, confusion, and finally defeat. Professor Goodman, internationally known reading authority, has stated that a reader must not be confronted with more than 10% new information if material is to be understood. More than 10% produces confusion and requires re-reading; much more than 10% makes the material incomprehensible.

School has many facets. There is the structure, the curriculum, the content of the curriculum, the pedagogy, the teachers, the physical site itself. All of these reflect the dominant society. A student from any other culture will find himself confronted with more than 10% of new information and be unable to learn the new material. While schools and teachers have been willing to modify the curriculum content to include content familiar to the student, in some cases; there is usually a total failure to comprehend that the other elements of the school are also "information" which the student must understand and learn. So, the modification to include some "student" content while ignoring the requirement to learn the total "school" means that many students will be confronted with much more than 10% new information and refuse the situation.

Teachers, and schools, must understand that there is a total "school" to be learned and that if this total "school" exceeds this "10%", there will be failure. If the "10%" is not be exceeded, there must be an analysis of the total "school" and the new information must be reduced to less than 10%. There are many aspects of "school" which are new to students of any culture or society. If the school drifts fifty years behind society, even the dominant group will encounter old information which will be "new" to the student and leave the student confused and frustrated. The student must be understood. The "school" must be understood. Decisions on what aspects of the "school" are essential and which non-essential and what is a feasible schedule to introduce the essential new inforamtion must be made based upon an understanding of both school and student. These decisions, when the student is an adult, should be public decisions even though they may be made by the professional teacher. Understanding of the decisions and the reasons for them must be shared with the students.

Of course, decisions are not made upon the immediate facts alone. Decisions of this kind are political, social, and individual. Understanding of the context of the decision must also enter into the process. There is a need to "appear like" a school even though there may not be a need to maintain the school structure. There must be compatibility with "other" schools, so compatibility must be included in the process. While our society maintains its class oriented nature, there is a need for people who wish to be "upwardly mobile" to look and sound like the people who are in the dominant classes and this requirement cannot be ignored and must be included in the process. So, the decisions are neither simple nor easy. Many decisions will be made on the basis of an ability to schedule the various aspects of "school" so that they are not all encountered at the same time.

If the most important aspect of school is to learn how to read and write and to think in a reasonable manner, then all other new aspects can be delayed and introduced as "social" aspects to be learned voluntarily at an intermediate stage.

Let us look at the various aspects of school and make some decisions.

Structure: the structure is antique and meant to provide workers for nineteenth century factories. It can be safely ignored with cosmetic overlays to provide the illusion of "regular" school.

Faculty: There must be a major effort to obtain faculty from the same culture group as the students. This may mean utilizing interns or aides, but it is essential. The faculty must also be re-trained if contaminated by American graduate schools or schools of education. This is also essential.

Curriculum: The curriculum must be based upon the goals of the program. If students must be able to read, write, do arithmetic, think, and understand something about

themselves and the world around them, and be prepared to enter the world of work, then the curriculum must reflect this. Inertia and the compulsion to replicate what currently continues to fail must be defied and defeated.
Curriculum content: Content must be honest and reflective of the total world not be shaped by the dominant groups nor by the desire to create replicas of the faculty or some other segment of society.
Pedagogy: Pedagogy must be based upon contemporary proven theories and programs. The work of Kohlberg, of Goodman in reading, the work in psycholinguistics and learning theory; all of these must provide the basis of the pedagogy.
Physical site: The site has been chosen, in a prison program; so we can safely only try to modify it to provide some context for learning. This means places to study, books, access to various modes of learning.

What does this mean, then, if we wish to provide a school program which will be successful with Native students? The structure must be open but with full student responsibility. Attendance, promptness, schedules, grades, credits, all must be cosmetic rather than essential to the structure. The basis is competency. I do not suggest that regular class meetings are never to be used. I only suggest that they not be used to evaluate students. I also suggest that "back-up" modes of learning be provided and that "supplementary" modes of learning be developed. While there may be classes, they should be backed-up and supplemented by Learning Centers with highly qualified tutors. While there may be classes, they should be backed-up and supplemented by "play-back" classes. Individualized learning should be available; learning through machines should be available. All modes must be available, so that the structure need not be learned at this time. Group learning can be encouraged and "cheating" thought about.

The content should include Native American literature including that of the oral tradition, and History should include both pre-European contact and post-European contact with an avoidance of focusing upon the "Indian Wars". There should be supplementary or elective courses in Native American Studies, and not simply beadwork. The faculty should include Native peoples, even if there is a need to secure interns or aides; and the Native faculty must be on an equal footing with the total faculty.

The pedagogy is based upon the same theories as those for any other school, since we presume the theories are universal, for now. A program based upon current theories and practices of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics should be as successful with Native students as with others.

The key will be content, faculty, and structure. Of course, the curriculum must be related directly to the goals of the program rather than being left over from the history of education. There must also be established the credibility of success and a clear connection between the program and success after graduation. Native students are not going to honor or suffer fools readily, nor are they interested in serving the gods of anyone's major field or discipline. They will come to school because it promises success, it delivers something useful, and because it will actually work because it does not confront the student with more then "10%" new material including all of the aspects of the school.

Another final point is that Native people have not been successfully impressed with the long-range goals of the white people's world. They will decide on a daily basis what has the highest priority and what can be done later. What we fail to see is that schools are obviously perpetual and will always be around tomorrow, while a good day or a chance to sing or dance might not come again for a long time. The very nature of schools as perpetual institutions will make them a low priority many times and only school people will fail to go down to the river to watch the ice go out or turn down a chance to go out in the yard on a sunny day. Schools can be so good, in some or all aspects, that they will have the highest priority much more often than they do now. When we added certain faculty members we moved up the ladder of priorities several steps. School may be work but it need not be the lowest priority if it, and "it"means teachers and all, will begin with the student and work towards a goal that is shared by the student and teacher and utilize the means that work rather than those which have successfully screened out several generations of Native Americans and other people.

THE ALASKA EXPERIMENT

Randall Ackley

Several factors have made it possible to introduce a "state-of-the-art" education program into the correctional system in Alaska:

1. Because Alaska has only recently become a state, it has relied heavily upon the federal prison system for long-term offenders.
2. For many reasons, Alaska has not established major educational or training programs within the correctional system in the past; and this lack leaves the field clear for innovation.
3. The state has shown a willingness to support financially the development of a major education and training effort in the system, both through the support of present and past directors of the state's correctional system and through the support of key members of the state legislature.
4. The Division of Adult Corrections has been willing and able to establish a strong partnership relationship with the University of Alaska, Juneau; and the University has been willing to respond to this overture with a significant allocation of human and financial resources.
5. Recent experiments based upon the Kohlberg developmental model have been in place long enough to provide evidence of their efficacy, and their faculty have been willing to become involved in a "new" venture.
6. Technology is at a point where it can readily provide the means to deliver a spectrum of programs to a broad range of people in a cost-effective and efficient manner.

All of these factors, in addition to the willingness of all involved Corrections and University managers to support the development of a major program, made it possible to plan, develop, and implement a contemporary, "state-of-the-art" "University Within Walls" in the state's adult correctional system at this time. The program has the lowest cost per student of any educational unit in the state; it focuses upon an Alaskan range of students including Natives; it is inclusive from a Liberal Arts Core based upon the University of Victoria Humanities program to a major Career Education directly linked to the Alaskan job market; and it is cost-effective and responsive utilizing and exploiting contemporary technology to provide a delivery system.

The Core Program includes a Humanities Core of Literature and History courses taught on the Kohlberg developmental model, a group of supportive electives, and a group of reading, writing, arithmetic workshops. The workshops are open entry/open exit, competency based. The electives vary in accordance with student interest and availability of faculty. The Core is high priority with a major staff investment and is taught by a multi-media delivery system. The staff includes Dr Stephen Duguid of the British Columbia program, Dr Peter Scharf from the Niantic program; Carolyn Forche, nationally known poet and writer on El Salvador; Nora Dauenhauer, Tlingit authority on Native education and languages; Dr Randall Ackley, specialist in American Indian studies and education and experimental structures; and Sheila Nickerson, Alaskan poet and novelist and former Writer-in-Residence for the Alaska State Library. It is supported by Janet Lumianksy and Jim Gordon who are creating the videotaped portion of the project. The multi-media delivery mode utilizes three types of teaching. There is a videotaped stimulus/information package for each week. One of the Core faculty are on the videotape, or there may be a visiting authority. This is shown in all institutions on Monday evenings. A guide accompanies the tapes. The students in each institution view the tape with a site "Tutor/ Counselor" who is responsible for the group at that site. Mid-week, the person on the videotape conducts a discussion session utilizing an audioteleconferencing capability into all nine institutions, again with the local tutor present at each site. For the first two thirds of the class, all students are present in an "extended classroom" which includes the entire state. The final activity at the end of the week is based upon local, small group discussion. Of course, the videotapes are available for repeat viewing before or after the discussion sessions. All Tutors are being trained to provide the required support for this type of delivery. All Core faculty will be present at various times at all of the sites so that students will actually be in a non-electronic classroom with that Core at least once during the class. The mode is intensive and open. Students can augment the scheduled activities with repeated viewing of the tapes, with smaller group discussion, and with individual "tutoring" with the local "Tutor/Counselor".

The Arts in Prison program includes both performing and fine arts and has a major Alaska Native arts component. It avoids "therapy" type art and stresses the product and professionalism. It is the oldest component of the program and has produced an ongoing literary magazine, several visual arts shows, and well received theatrical productions. There is a special relationship being developed with the state Visual Arts Center, the Alaska Repertory Theatre, and the Institute of Alaska Native Arts. A major show in the state Museum was established in 1980 and preparations are being made for a state-wide show in the Anchorage museum this winter. Ongoing series of mini-concerts and visiting artists is a major component, and residencies for master/apprentice work are being developed. The involvement of a large percentage of the population has been dependent upon the easy entry into the "University" through the arts. Progress in every area has surpassed similar programs in the "standard" University. One artist had a one-man show after a year in the program. Jane Linden, a former medical illustrator and painter, shaped the visual arts aspect of the program; and the recruitment of a well-known Alaska Native artist, a carver and sculptor, Robert James Schoppert, promises major development for the future.

The Career Education component provides all "majors" for degrees and certificates. It is directly matched to the Alaska job market and is bounded by the physical restrictions of the institutions. There are no preconceived ideas about "suitable" jobs or training for offenders. The new director, Dr Eugene Scheer, is a former community college dean of vocational education and president. He is an electronics specialist and instructor in that area. Current "career" education includes Food Service, Computer Operator and Programmer, Business, and Social Services. Additional programs are being planned in Building Maintenance, Data Processing, Marine Technology, and expansion of the Social Services into a new "Village Resource Internship Program". While the Career Education program provides the "major" areas, the Core Program provides the core required of all students.

Support Services and the Learning Center Network are the major support & delivery components. They provide all college "normal" services and are developing as comprehensive an approach as possible. Beverly Grogan, a general education teacher, is the director of Support Services and is focusing upon Learning Center development. The services include library services, job development & placement, student records, advising and counselling, career development, testing, and many other areas.

The Learning Center Network is based upon an array of delivery modes and a cooperating agreement with the new "LEARN/Alaska" consortium. The Center provides the "extended classroom" with audioteleconferencing and shared videotapes, an "open university" mode with instructional television, "playback" capability with some classes, computer assisted instrution, various packaged classes, and individual and group tutoring. The Center is staffed by a combination tutor, counselor, traffic controller. The tutor responds to each student entering the Center by directing the student to the appropriate delivery mode or modes. The Tutor also monitors all students in the Center while they are utilizing the services and maintains records of student participation and progress. The Learning Center is the "center" of the program and its full development and utilization are essential to the success of the program. It provides the ability to respond to each student as an individual and to allow easy access to school. It prevents the usual "socializing" requirements of school from dominating the process.

The essence of the program is simple. People have the potential for development and are not perfectable but improveable. School is the one single institution which may be a vehicle for this development which may not find a satisfactory context in the student's prior home environment. School in itself has no value; it is the structure of the school and the pedagogy and people that have the power to hamper or provoke development. The direct links with the "real world" of work are essential and pragmatic. Technology is a tool. Efficiency and effectiveness demand a holistic and integrative approach to everything. There is no room for failure in a prison school. It is the last chance for its students. Our "state-of-the-art" school, "University Within Walls-Alaska" has been planned and developed so that it has the greatest opportunity to serve the state's offenders and so that it can be operated at a reasonable cost per student. The experiment is in place and the evaluation is beginning.

n.b. The program would never have survived its earliest phases if it hadn't been for the understanding cooperation and assistance from William Huston, former Director of Corrections; Chancellor Michael Paradise, UAJ; Representatives Nels Anderson and Jack Fuller; Senator John Sackett; Charles Campbell, Director of Corrections; and many teachers and volunteers. Each person made a decision at some moment which made it possible for the program to come into being and appreciation to all of them is acknowledged.

UTILIZATION OF MICRO-COMPUTERS IN PRISON EDUCATION; THE ALASKAN EXPERIMENT

Beverly Grogan

Historically, prison education has been traditional in its goals, remedial in orientation, and sadly ineffective. Research described in the Syracruse Report states that, in effect, prison or correctional education has had little impact because of its ineffectiveness. It also states that the only way to reform criminals is to create a partnership between a correctional system and a university system to truly implement an effective "correctional educational program." The University Within Walls-Alaska involves such a partnership between the State of Alaska Division of Adult Corrections and the University of Alaska, Juneau. It strives to be an holistic program dedicated to the habilitation/rehabilitation of its participants through components for social education, preparation for the world of work, recreation, support services and speical projects. It is unique-perhaps the only program of its kind in the United States and Canada.

One unique aspect of the UWW-Alaska Experiment is the development of a learning center network which is in response to a group of people which has been unsuccessful with traditional education. It is our response to that unsuccessful education which will provide 1) alternative education - a variety of learning modes to recruit a large group, hopefully, the total population, 2) supplemental education - individual assistance to students to assure their success, and 3) institutional research - a means to record and analyze data to determine if this experiment works. The learning center network electronically ties together Alaska's nine correctional centers stretching from Ketchikan in the southernmost tip to Nome in the northwest arctic--a mini-college. This expanse of several thousand miles makes traditional educational delivery complicated and expensive. Although this seems to be a particular program, it allows for an opportunity for a unique and technologically modern mode of delivery; thus, the major component of the learning center-a micro-computer multi-purpose network.

The acquisition of the first Apple II computers came about through a grant from CETA which was to train computer operators and programers. Today with the purchase of 18 Apples, 35 disk drives, 2 Corvus 5megabyte drives, and various peripherals such as modems, printers, monitors, etc., UWW has virtually exploited technology, and thrust itself into this multi-use system.

UWW is the only program in Alaska which is capable of using such a complex and special communication network. The learning centers at each institution may operate independently or as a network which would share everything from floppy diskettes to people. All Apples have the capability to link into the University Computer Network as well as directly to each other. Courseware can be created and shared between centers. Expertise and personal experience can be shared by all. These are specific aspects that give the system high quality at a reasonable cost.

One area which is not being addressed in any prison education program is that of support services. The Apple provides the means to establish the UWW program as a mini-college by entering all student and financial records and storing them on the hard disk system. One big difference between our "college" and others is that a student could access his own files for immediate feedback. Also stored would be a career development plan profile on each student which students could also view independently. Another aspect of the support services component is the working files made available through the Visicalc Program. Course offerings, schedule plans, financial transactions, etc., can be written and changed, copied and printed. These working files can be shared through the system as well to minimize the effort in doing these tasks. The system also provides for storage capability for institutional research data. It allows for easy storage and retrieval of information helpful in evaluating courses, classroom organization, teaching strategies, learning modes, minority participation, cost effectiveness/per student, follow-up of ex-offenders, and many others which would be invaluable to the future success of the program.

Support Services not only supports the administrative end of the UWW program, but it is directly a service to the student. The learning center provides a means to link students to new information. Computer Literacy of course must be the first responsibility of the UWW program to utilize the micro-computer system. Students must be familiar and comfortable using the Apples for fun to ensure that future learning experiences will be positive and non-threatening. To supplement on-going education, Computer Assisted Instruction is a new intervention to provide drill and practice and further understanding of concepts through simulation and other exercises. Courseware, unavailable through other means, will be purchased to enhance the existing UWW program. CAI provides an alternative for the advanced, independent learner to stimulate his/her interest and challenge him/her.

Providing UWW students with marketable skills which would enhance the quality of life of the student and those around him is also a goal of the UWW program. Computer operation and programing are two of the most saleable skills in the world of work at his time. Most people in these positions have been trained on-the-job because there is no one trained and ready to step into these jobs. Our students have the opportunity to train and prepare through actual hands-on experience with with the technology. UWW Career Education component plans are to help place these trained operators and programers upon their release into good jobs.

Micro-computers have a special and permanent place in the future of America. We are lucky to have the technology and high quality of human resources available through this partnership. Although traditional learning centers have been around for a long time, the UWW Learning Center Network, through the use of contemporary, technologically advanced delivery and human resources, will provide a wider and unique variety of educational opportunities to a greater number of students in a modest and cost-effective manner in hopes to ensure positive development and educational success for some who have not experienced anything like it before!

PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN

Gillian Sandeman

Two truisms about prison programs for women. One: The relatively small number of female prisons in Canada has always been seen as a barrier to the provision of varied or innovative programs. Two: Women's prisons everywhere provide hairdressing programs.

The paucity of educational opportunities and programs for women in Canada's only penitentiary for women was summed up in the 1979 O.I.S.E. *Report to the Solicitor General Concerning the Educational Program of the Canadian Corrections System*:

> «The Prison for Women gives witness to the tremendous waste of valuable life involved in the penal institution for women who are, on the whole, of average intelligence and, who, most important, have the will to spend their time in more constructive ways. One is struck by the degree of depression and apathy displayed by inmates, and even more by staff members. There is a pervading air of despair, somewhat relieved by small groups of inmates and a few staff members who muster up the strength to support and encourage one another to resist the effects of boredom and hostility.
>
> The Reviewers believe that there is an urgent need to expand and improve the quality of education and training programs for women, particularly for less traditional female roles. The penitentiaries for men have many more facilities than those for women. The emotional and intellectual needs of female inmates have for so long been ignored, to the point where the situation has reached a crisis.
>
> When visiting the Prison for Women, one may be told that there is a full range of day and evening programs and activities for the women, and one may even assume that there is a fair amount of inmate involvement in these programs. However, after spending some time with inmates and staff, *one is sharply aware of the grave discrepancy between stated policies and practices*.
>
> Academic courses are offered up to the Grade 12 level. On the whole, however, they are limited to English, mathematics and social sciences. Correspondence courses are available as well, although many inmates find this endeavour to be a boring and lonely experience. They did not appear to be receiving adequate tutorial

> assistance, encouragement or direction in their pursuit of learning and development. The only vocational courses available are sewing, hairdressing, shorthand and typing. There would seem to be little opportunity for women to prepare themselves to re-enter society and to find appropriate roles in the work world. They seemed unable to identify alternate programs or means of learning, or to find constructive ways of occupying their time.»

It may seem natural that women in prison have far fewer opportunities and facilities than men for only 4% of the prison population are women. Cost-effectiveness alone appears to dictate the provision of a far narrower range of programs. But natural justice and human rights demand unremitting efforts to bring equality of treatment for female prisoners, however difficult this may appear. In recognition of this fundamental issue, a current case before the Canadian Human Rights Commission complains of discrimination against women in the Canadian penitentiary system because of the unequal provision of programs.

A recent submission to the Solicitor General by the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies defines the problem and suggests some approaches to finding solutions:

> «The small number of women in Kingston (usually less than 100 in the past year) have tremendously varied needs, backgrounds and interests. Some women will be back «on the street» in less than a year; others will not be eligible for parole before 25 years. This reality requires a different kind of program planning than those designed for the 9,000 plus federal male inmate population.
>
> The concept of individual program planning, known fondly as IPP, is most appropriate for the female offender. First the needs of the woman are discovered through a joint assessment and career counselling, then a program is found to meet those needs. This is in direct contrast to the notion of block programing, where a minimum number of people is required before a program is seen to be cost effective and therefore offered.
>
> The following options are suggested within the context of IPP as well as a number of other principles; specifically that:
>
> (a) the resources in the community be tapped first; this principle will minimize the need for new person years in program expansion; furthermore,

this approach increases interaction with the community while enhancing the flexibility of programs available in the Prison,

(b) program options change significantly to meet the interests and needs of the changing inmate population; therefore, any approach to program planning must incorporate flexibility,

(c) as many education, training and work options as possible be accredited or certified to enhance the likelihood of productive reintegration of women in the community.»

The stress on the provision of programs which are certified or accredited to free-world standards is, of course, seen as important for all prisoners, not only women. The U.N. Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners state that «So far as practicable, the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so that after their release they may continue their education without difficulty.» For women it seems more reasonable to hope that policy-makers will not be discouraged by the impossibility of duplicating (on the inside) large-scale programs which are recognized and accredited «outside», but will make real efforts to make the outside programs available to women inside. This could be achieved, for instance, by running courses for both inmates and free students inside the prison, or by using temporary absences for attendance at classes, or by enrolling students, with volunteers to encourage consistent participation, in «open-college» courses given on T.V. or radio.

Whatever the methods chosen to ensure variety and flexibility in educational programming for women in prison, it will not be enough if the variety only means that as well as hairdressing, women have available to them cosmetology, cooking and cleaning. The channelling of women into traditional, dead-end roles is nowhere more evident than in prison. A disproportionate amount of female inmate's work time in the Prison for Women is spent on institutional maintenance - cleaning, laundry and cooking - but the opportunity to capitalize on these skills and provide chef's courses or an industrial cleaning course has so far not been seized. There are dangers, however, in trying to turn institutional maintenance activities into genuine educational opportunities. The California Institute for Women's description of its Culinary Training Program in its Food Skills Center begins impressively enough but the elegant euphemisms should be a warning of the realities of the experience for the women involved.

> «The food industry provides many occupational opportunities for people of all backgrounds and abilities, and represents the fourth largest employer in America. Students who graduate from the CIW Food Skills Center will be qualified to gain employment in restaurants, hotels, hospitals, nursing homes and other facilities having large-scale feeding operations.
>
> The main kitchen at CIW is equipped to operate as a modern, professional, food service center, and it is here that students study to learn the skills of culinary arts. The necessary food service to approximately 600 residents of the main campus provides an opportunity for realistic on-the-job training for culinary skills students.
>
> The student's daily schedule consists of approximately seven and a half hours of on-the-job and related training. The student may enroll for one of five Vocational Training Modules and must complete that area of study before moving on to another of the five. The following is a list of the different modules and the hours of instruction required to complete each one:

1.	Dishwashing	300 hours
2.	Salad & Vegetable Prep.	300 hours
3.	Retail Meat Cutting	300 hours
4.	Baking & Decorating	300 hours
5.	Cooking	1100 hours
	TOTAL:	2000 hours »

It must be comforting for inmates spending 7 1/2 hours a day for 10 weeks washing dishes, to know that they are completing a Vocational Training Module.

That it is in fact possible to provide serious and challenging traditional and non-traditional educational programs in even the smallest prisons for women can be seen by a range of opportunities provided, to choose only a few examples, in Nebraska, Washington State and Venezuela. In the 150-bed prison, run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd outside Caracas, a full high school timetable is followed, including science courses, civics and English. Canadian and American women visitors last fall were presented with an essay written in English class that morning, describing the prison, which disarmingly began «Estimable gentlemans....» Community colleges, boards of education or university extension departments could co-operate with prison authorities in making language classes available to women inmates here.

In Purdy Institution in Washington, children from the community attend a day-care centre inside the prison. Women prisoners working in the centre are earning community college diplomas in Early Childhood Education thus helping to ensure employment after release, learning personal parenting skills and breaking down community distrust of prisons and inmates. Some Canadian women prisoners are inadequate or abusing parents: parenting courses are sporadic and nothing as radical as the Purdy approach seems to be contemplated.

In the corn-fields of Nebraska, in the summer of 1978, inmates were practicing driving 5-speed Maxidyne trucks and 13-speed combination vehicles. By October of that year they had graduated from Southeast Community College with a Motor Freight Transportation diploma, qualifying them to drive trucks on all U.S. inter-state highways. Other students received diplomas qualifying them to work in trucking terminals. The dozen inmates involved were women from the small Nebraska state prison for women. The total inmate count is under one hundred. Although the program had expanded in the early seventies to include an innovative Mother-Offspring Life Development Program, which has children living with their mothers in the prison for up to ten days a month, the educational opportunities had been traditional, including hairdressing, of course. A combined campaign by inmates, staff and the local Status of Women Committee diverted the truck-driver program from the men's prison to the women's. The simulator and training vehicles were brought to the campus (another elegant euphemism for prison) for the six-months needed to complete the course and everyone involved was determined that the experience should be successful, both to give the women a better chance of high paying jobs on release and to prove the viability of non-traditional programs in a women's prison.

That Nebraska program combined some of the key elements for educational programming for women inmates: it utilized outside resources on a temporary basis; the experience could be repeated or replaced by another program; it met the individual needs of a small group of women; it brought non-traditional training into a very traditional setting and it had the support of correctional staff, inmates and the community.

VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Duncan McRae

During the past five years, we have witnessed a gradual but significant change in the delivery of vocational training programs. The traditional program model, based in an institutional setting, is undergoing significant review and revision to address the needs of the 1980's.

The changes in program structure and delivery methods will be more complementary to the needs and opportunities of the prisoner. The prison education system will be enhanced by its ability to access programs and accommodate the services of the post-secondary system represented by colleges and institutes offering vocational education.

In Canada and particularly in British Columbia, programs are shifting from a highly structured, institutional, time based model, to a very flexible, competancy based, modularized model. The vocational model for this decade will provide a significant degree of access through self paced learning packages which will provide access opportunities and course completion for the student in a variety of environments and circumstances.

The traditional, institutional model of program delivery is being altered by initiatives in the private training sector of business and industry, as well as, the public sector. In apprenticeship training, the financial costs to industry, to the post-secondary training system and to the apprentice are dictating change. More and more apprenticeship programs will become industry based for both the technical training and hands-on, skill experience. In addition, there will be the development of self study packages to support the industry based apprenticeship programs. Greater opportunities will be provided for enrolled apprentices to challenge and gain access to advanced levels of training as a result of past experience and training.

The critical skill shortages in tradesmen and skilled technicians will necessitate a number of new approaches in training. While the apprenticeship system proceeds from a traditional, locked-step system of the past to a more flexible access and delivery of technical training, other program initiatives are underway.

It is apparent that the Allmand Task Force Report will bring about significant changes in the vocational programs delivery system, if the recommendations are implemented. The federal government initiatives in industry based training with emphasis on higher levels of technical and skill training will augment the current revision and alteration to program content and structure.

In British Columbia, the new Open Learning Institute is providing basic and advanced correspondence programs in technical and vocational subjects which are enhanced by the students access to a telephone tutor. The Knowledge Network, through the use of satellite high technology, is delivering programs via television, to all areas of the province, the Yukon, Alberta and the western North West Territories. This new delivery system can provide access to the prison population, either by cablevision or by direct satellite broadcast through a receiver station. As a part of this system, interactive sessions via telephone can occur between the students and the instructor.

For the prisoner and the prison education system, greater access to the public post-secondary system is now available.Through changes in traditional program structure and delivery methods this decade bodes well for a much more significant interface between the prison and public education systems.

Problems and obstacles remain to be resolved. The vocational programs of the prison system are restricted by the jurisdictional mandates of provincial agencies which excludes a national approach to program standards. At this time, there is insufficient coordination and liaison between the public and prison programs to ensure appropriate recognition, transferability and accreditation. Literacy and basic training for skill development constitute a major challenge for the prison educational system.

While the above problems will not be readily resolved, there can be optimism with the changes which are occurring in the public, post-secondary system. These changes are complementary to the prison education system and the needs of the prisoner.

THE ROLE OF THE FINE ARTS IN PRISON EDUCATION: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CREATIVE WRITING

Brian Fawcett

Any discussion of Fine Arts must begin with an understanding of what is meant by the term "Fine Arts". Fine Arts are the traditional serious persuits of music, visual arts, literature and drama in which the study of theory plays a role equal to that of the creative or mimetic elements. Within the spectrum of contemporary post-secondary education in North America, the Fine Arts have gained the status of a specialty, and are granted varying degrees of professional respectability. They are not, however, generally regarded as integral to the Liberal Arts curriculum, as, for instance, English and Histroy are.

Post secondary education in prisons, however, involves a number of special and unusual conditions and priorities that I will argue make the teaching of Fine Arts, and in particular Creative Writing, appropriate and effective. Prison education in general, has as its institutional goal the rehabilitation of inmates and this goal finds no contradiction in Cardinal Newman's famous notion that the purpose of a university education is to make people competent citizens. I should make clear that my approach to post secondary academic education in prisons is in thorough agreement with the educational procedures and values outlined in various papers by Drs. Ayers, Parlett and Duguid linking cognitive and moral development as parallel purposes to the straightforward academic goals of university level training, and much of my argument (and vocabulary) is predicted on their work. I have taught Creative Writing on three occasions within the University of Victoria's program within B.C. Prisons, and English on two more occasions, and that has given me the opportunity to test that body of theory in practice.

The University of Victoria program is focused primarily on the Humanities, in particular History and English. While it is dangerous to summarize the theoretical base of the program in a few sentences, it is accurate to say that criminal behaviour has part of its cause in inadequate enculturation. People commit crimes in prisons because they have misunderstood, ignored, or been ignorant of the moral values of Western Civilization and its cultural institutions and prcedures. By providing an academic forum for investigating those procedures, values and institutions, the University of Victoria program provides inmates with the intellectual and moral tools that can enable them to interlize culture, and a positive rational basis for choosing to revise their attitudes and behaviour within it.

Fine Arts have a key place within this specialized educational structure because:

a) they are a key part of Western cultural tradition, and as such have contributed and will continue to contribute heavily to moral culture

b) Creative activity within so complex a structure of intellectual demands tends to reinforce the connectedness of micro-, meso- and macrocosmic elements of human life. When a working artist confronts himself or herself, the confrontation is also with culture and world

I can speak with authority only on the literacy aspects of Fine Arts-specifically Creative Writing-, and I will confine the ensuing discussion to that field. I assume that other of the Fine Arts operate in slightly modified ways to the same effects: to become a Creative Writing student is to become, in a preliminary way, a practicing Fine Artist.

My view of Creative Writing as an academic pursuit began to change about ten minutes after my first class began at Matsqui Institution several years ago, and my method of teaching has continually shifted to meet the unique possibilities and difficulties of prison education.

In a Creative Writing class at a university or community college on the outside almost all students already have some idea of what Literature is, and a degree of cultural sophistication that is probably greater than that of the average student. In other words, then, they know all abaout Fine Art and have a general knowledge of cultural conventions. If they didn't they probably wouldn't be there. People with narrow or purely occupational interests rarely take Creative Writing. What the students who do take it often lack, however, is any kind of profound life-experience of their own. They can write sonnets or short stories, but they rarely have much to write them about. They have structure without personal information, and their writing can be pretty and skilled, but it is often rather empty because they are operating in a vacuum, expecting imagination to provide them with content. I have always regarded the primary intellectual force of Art as a synthesizing one, rather than a creative one, and this view has been strengthened by my recent experiences in prison.

Inside a prison, the usual conditions of a beginning writer are frequently reversed. Inmates often have a great deal to say, but little knowledge of how to say it and through what means. Both the literary traditions and the culture that has produced its formal modes of expression are foreign to them. At times they treat both with suspicion, but at other times, the kinds of questions they ask lead to more sophisticated discourse about writing (and Art in general) than one is likely to encounter in a Creative Writing class outside.

I can't, for instance, walk into class and announce that I want everyone to write a sonnet. Even if the students know what one is, they will tend to avoid working with it until they know why it was invented in the first place, and what kind of thought it enables or prevents.

I found that there were about four basic difficulties that surfaced early in each course, and which had to be worked out fairly quickly if the course was to get beyond them. They weren't really questions. They were more "attitudes" than anything else. All of them are revealing.

1) Most students assumed that there were secrets to good writing and that it was simply a matter of learning a few "tricks" to becoming a good writer. That one was easy: The secret is hard word and there are no tricks.
2) Recognition, in the form of fame and/or money, was seen as the ultimate goal. This difficulty tended to surface in continually more complicated ways, partly because opportunities for publication are fairly numerous, and the degree of recognition and remuneration is both variable and generally disappointing for a beginner.
3) Students tend initially to regard their feelings or ideas as sacred, and are often either unwilling to reveal them openly or to listen to commentary from others. Both difficulties dissolved when it was agreed that no other student (or the instructor) was allowed to question their right to feel or think and that whatever criticism occurred would be focused on how articulate the thought and emotion was. Students in prison, incidentally, are by far the most constructive and supportive in their criticisms to one another that I have encountered.
4) Every writing situation that did not call for a simple statement of opinion or expression of personal feeling (for example, when attempting to establish or resolve a fictional situation in a story) tended toward arbitrary physical action-usually violent action. This *Deus Ex Machina* problem will receive special attention later in this paper.

During that first course at Matsqui I found myself teaching two courses--one that involved the students in actual writing and discussing what they wrote, and another course on historical literary culture. A number of aspects of literary culture are not covered by university English courses. English Literature as taught in contemporary universities is as much the study of approaches to Literary Criticism as it is the study of works of Literature, and is aimed at teaching students the empathetic process involving the critic rather than the writer. The result is that students (in any context) tend to treat the creative process as if it is more mystical then it really is. For instance, critics tend to ignore the influence of the physical activity of writing: a writer has to actually sit down and write, and in doing so is subject to all kinds of profound and extremely effective stimuli—location and landscape, 401

personal health, even limitations created by the equipment available—pens, paper size, quality and quantity. The further a student is from cultural fluency, the more cretivity can be demystified by talking about commonalities that even say, Shelley shares with the most floundering beginner.[1]

Additionally, because Literature is most often taught as an aspect of the english language, most students are thoroughly ignorant of the history of written language, and equally of its debt to Greek and Roman literature and myth. (This weakness of the modern university is probably as effective in the teaching of History and the Social Sciences.)

I've found therefore that I have to begin teaching Creative Writing from these two base points:

1) In order to be a writer, or to produce writing, one must engage in the direct physical activity of writing things down in considerable volume, just as every writer across the centuries has done. If one doesn't write, one is not a writer. That rather simpleminded truth is less obvious than it appears, and not just to students in the University of Victoria program in B.C. prisons.

2) One of the remarkable characteristics of the human species is the impulse—often against the most overwhelming odds--to spoeak by formal means about the truth without sacrificing its complexity or isolating elements of it for immediate pragmatic purposes. When one engages in Creative Writing, one is not alone. Homer is peering over one's shoulder along with a host of others. Even if one doesn't know for sure who Homer is or what he wrote, one has, as a writer, both a bond with, and a responsibility to an extraordinarily demanding tradition..

For the first of those base points, I've used procedures developed by Peter Elbow, in a book entitled Writing Without Teachers.[2] At the best of times it is hard to get even the most desperately eager student-writer to write easily and to talk about and read aloud their writing. Elbow uses a technique he calls "freewriting" to get around the initial (and often ongoing) diffidence. The technique calls for everyone in the class or workshop to write without pausing to select or edit details for a specifiedlength of time--usually 10 to 20 minutes. The students then immediately read their freewrting exercises aloud, and each other student is required to make a positive response of some sort. Beside forcing the students to write, the technique teaches students how to listen--not for what is wrong,or for what isn't there, but what *is* there. At first, the exercises were, with notable exeptions, complaints about how hard it is to write, what an indignity the exercise is, or how the student can't think of a thing to say. The initial complaints quickly died away, and the particular predilections of each student began to surface. During the discussions that followed each exercise, those predilections in choice of form and subject matter where discussed as abilities to be developed.

After a few weeks of this, the students were able to sit down in a class, write and then read as if it were the most casual thing imaginable. The exercises changed too, usually in one of two ways. The prose writers wrote more, and the verse writers wrote less. What was common to both, and for me extremely surprising, was that the exercises began to be organized, completed compositions, whether or not the exercies took 10, 20 or even 30 minutes.

This procedure, along with similar but more complex ones I developed along the way, worked to demystify the act of literary creation, to get students away from the seemingly bottomless well of excuses for not writing, and to begin to handle written and spoken language in new ways. At one point I asked each student to select about a hundred words from their vocabularies, write them on cards, and to work out compositions from a random selection of the word-cards. This was extremely effective in getting them to examine their own vocabularies in new ways, and to expose the conceptual weaknesses and/or strenghts of their use of language without the governing override of syntax (social and liguistic) interfering.

Students, of course, wrote on their own time, and in several instances the volume produced was enormous, and the variety and quality of the writing as the students progressed became a source of mutual reinforcement for them.

The other part of the courses was a short course in Classics, focused mainly around two texts-Robert Graves' The Greek Myths[3] and the oldest known work of written literature-The Epic of Gilgamesh.[4] I asked two attendant questions: What did the Romans and Greeks see and believe about the world around them, and what kinds of questions did they attempts to answer by writing. Graves provided a basic source of information for the first questions, and the Epic of Gilgamesh served as a splendid opener for the second question. The anonymous writer of Gilgamesh wrote about the importance of political and economic custom, about the power of love and friendship, and about the horror and fear of death. The last two of those are exactly what all new writers want to write about. Finding those two intertwined with the first one produced confusion on many occasions--perhaps because, as Duguid and others point out, many inmates are in prison because they have not made that connection.

The scope of this paper is unfortunately too limited to provide greater detail or to allow for the abundant illustrative anecdotes. My point is that Creative Writing effectively bridges some difficulties experienced by the University of Victoria program in achieving its academic and rehabilitative goals.

The imperatives of teaching Creative Writing have led me to introduce materials that are open, if not actually cover a crucial area of cultural history that for reasons well outside the scope here, are inadequately covered by contemporary Liberal Arts curriculums in our universities. While this is a minor controversy elsewhere, it is arguably more important to the goals of inmate rehabilitation as pursued by the University of Victoria's program. I'm assuming, of course, that prison inmates are in many cases in prison because they have not assimilated the cultural information (for whatever reasons) that allows most people to function within society, as noted earlier. Without some background in the fundamental roots of Western Civilization--particularly the non-christian elements, and without an academic vehicle to provide it, rehabilitative enculturation has in some measure certainly suffered.

More directly, the objective nature of academic education does not provide any methodologically direct means for inmates to internalize objective cultural information. It has been argued that prison inmates for the most part accept society's moral and cultural values, but "...develop excuses for their inability to abide by them."[5] Creative Writing, and certainly other of the Fine Arts links the individual artist and his culture at a range of levels of both form and content every time the art is practiced. Similarly, the particular ego-structures of many prison inmates leads them to regard themselves as initiatory, isolated individuals. Bringing them in contact with the exemplary initiatory artists of Western Civilization can be a galvanizing exercise in their cognitive and moral development.

Perhaps this can be illustrated by a brief discussion of what I found to be the most disturbing and pervasive difficulty in the course of teaching: the overwhelming predilection for violent action as the means of resolving situational complexity encountered in writing—the *Deus Ex Machina* problem flagged earlier for special attention.

Early on in one of the courses I taught, I gave each student in my class the first paragraph of a famous short story and asked them to complete it without knowing what the original story was about. This began with an in-class exercise in which each student wrote for 15 minutes on the story beginning they were given, then passed it on to the next student until each student had written a short section of each story. The result was revealing and depressing. All the stories moved immediately to action, and the action became increasing arbitrary and violent from student to student—protagonists were beaten, lost limbs, were drowned in rivers. The take-home assignment involved each student taking the paragraph he began with, and writing a different story with it. The result was similar.

We spent a long time talking about the stories and specifically about the nature of action. Why did their protagonists respond in equally violent and irrational ways? In what ways, if confronted by the story situations in their own lives, would the students respond differently? What would the consequences be if violence was removed as a fictional possibility from their stories? What kinds of worlds were they proposing in the stories?

I gave them the original stories to read, and having talked the matter into exhaustion, left it, after giving them examples of short story tellers like Robert Creeley and James Joyce, who had a wholly different concept of what the word "action" means.

Of course, some of the students never did respond to this. Several students, however, later produced a series of short stories of a thoroughly different order. One student in particular began writing stories that were indirectly discussions of the nature of action itself. His protaagonists were moved emotionally and intellectually by things and events around them and were able to change themselves and their reality by seeing and learning. In none of the stories was physical action an important part of the narrative. The protagonists talked to other characters, walked from one place to another, observed their surroundings without that earlier sense that reality would recede before them if they did not secure it by physical action of some sort

This kind of writing provides a means of internalizing knowledge in an active, individual way without it becoming a threat to the student's security within the structure of prison life nor to the institution itself. People in prison who write are accorded an almost automatic respect rarely granted writers in society at large, partially because so many inmates do write, and partially because, despite the overwhelming cynicism of inmates (and within the Corrections Service) the majority want to understand themselves better, if not actually change their behaviour and attitudes. The impulse to explain oneself and one's reality is the generative impulse behind every serious artistic activity, and this is recognizably valuable in prisons for a range of reasons and with a variety of motives.

The purpose of Creative Writing, at least as I've understood and taught it, is not aimed, academically or otherwise, at creating "great literature" or at producing "great writers". As recently demonstrated by Jack Henry Abbott, this can only be achieved in a short time by elevating the bizarre nature of prison reality, by dignifying the "pariah" role of the artist/inmate (between which there is a degree of surface similarity) and, one suspects, through massive amounts of editing. There are crucial differences between an accomplished artist (of any kind) ad a prison inmate. Arts are almost always culturally fluent. Prison inmates are usually the opposite they are culturally inarticulate and can be legitimately recognized as victims of cultural impoverishment.

As a cultural "worker", an artist works with the basic materials of his or her culture, at both an internal and external level. By working directly with these same materials in a context that demands considerable rigour, students can be helped to bridge the gap between the new ways in which they are learning to see the world, and the way they are able to interpret it as a field for personal action and responsiblity.[6]

FOOTNOTES

1.) There are some well documented critical errors that have resulted from the failure to note these commonalities. Leonard Cohen's now famous poem-song "Suzanne" wa a great mystery to critics until someone pointed out that the mystical details were actually elements of Cohen's native Montreal landscape visible from the window of the room he wrote the poem from. Similar examples are numerous.

2) Peter Elbow, Writing Without Teachers: New York: Oxford University Press, 1973

3) Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, 2 vols. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1965

4) E.R. Alexander, trans., The Epic of Gilgamesh. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1965

5) Stephen Duguid, "History and Moral Education in Correctional Education: Canadian Journal of Education 4:4 (1979) p.84 citing Taylor, 1973, as his authority

6) I would qualify this by noting that the above does not preclude the emergence of good writers from the University of Victoria program or from Creative Writing programs elsewhere. But it is simply not possible to produce a writer of quality in four or eight months. In relative terms, however, the results are interesting as far as they can be guaged. In the 1981 Prison Arts Writing Contest held in B.C. UVic Creative Writing students took all four first prizes out of some 150 entries from across B.C. prisons.

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LITERACY AND CORRECTIONS

Audrey M. Thomas

Purpose of the Paper

This paper will attempt to provide a conceptual framework for understanding the place and importance of literacy in society and clarify the various literacy terms currently in existence. That clarification is needed has been cogently expressed by Ross (1978):

> There have been many studies of the incidence of illiteracy among adult offenders. . . . (p.4)
> The estimates of the incidence of reading problems in the offender population range from a low of 2.4% to a high of 84%. Pick a number, any number, between 2 and 85 and you will be able to find a study which has concluded that that number represents the percent of offenders who are illiterate. One could make an "illiteracy lottery" out of these data. (p.5)

He goes on to declare that the reasons for the discrepancies are many including the " lack of standardized definition of terms".

Recently, the Canadian Association for Adult Education's Standing Committee on Learning and Corrections was asked to define functional literacy for penitentiary inmates re-entering society. As a member of that committee and as someone who has been actively involved in the adult literacy field in Canada over the last six years, the author was able to help in this task. It is hoped that the definitions and framework presented in this paper will be of use to those of you involved in prison education in Canada.

The International Literacy Climate

One of the most remarkable features of education in the last decade or so in Canada has been the mushrooming of adult education activities. Concepts such as continuing education, lifelong learning, and the learning society are passing into common parlance. However, as educational opportunities have expanded multifold, there is a growing realization among many adult educators that there is a sizeable segment of the adult population that does not participate in such opportunities. The bulk of non-participants belong to those adults who, for one reason or another, have not completed a public school education.

The results of the 1961 and 1971 Censuses brought home to many Canadians the extent of undereducation in this country. The Technical Vocational Training Assistance Act and the Adult Occupational Training Act, along with the New Start Programmes were examples of federal government initiatives designed to provide new opportunities for training and retraining of socially and educationally disadvantaged adults. These initiatives resulted in the growth of adult basic education programmes (ABE).

Various international events and pronouncements have provided a climate conducive to the further development of ABE in general and adult literacy work in particular. In 1978, as a member state of the United Nations, Canada celebrated the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 26 of this Declaration states that everyone has the right to education. The 1975 Declaration of Persepolis states that literacy is a fundamental human right. The 1976 Unesco Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education states that education is inseparable from democracy and that the access of adults to education is a fundamental aspect of the right to education. This same document exhorts member states to:

> take measures with a view to promoting participation in adult education and community development programmes by members of the most underprivileged groups, . . . and in particular illiterates, young people who have been unable to acquire an adequate standard of general education or a qualification, migrant workers and refugees, unemployed workers, members of ethnic minorities, persons suffering from a physical or mental handicap, persons experiencing difficulties of social adjustment and those serving prison sentences. (II. 4d.)

In a prison setting, there may be inmates with double or triple disadvantages. For example, in addition to being incarcerated, an inmate might be illiterate, and a member of an ethnic minority. Unesco urges its member states to search for educational strategies designed to foster more equitable relations among social groups. When it comes to defining the content of adult education, Unesco also stresses that priority should be given to the needs of the most educationally underprivileged groups.

Definitional Aspects of Literacy

Literacy is a concept which is relative to the social, economic and political contexts in which human beings find themselves. Literacy is often linked with culture, but it should be remembered that many cultures are or have been traditionally oral cultures. This situation is true in Canada for the indigenous peoples, and for many segments of Newfoundland and Quebec society because compulsory schooling in those two provinces was late in coming - 1943 in Quebec, and 1949 in Newfoundland.

Because literacy is relative to the societal context in which people find themselves, requirements for literacy may change. Literacy is multidimensional and has both qualitative and quantitative aspects which frustrate attempts to neatly define it. In recent years, there have been shifts in the conceptualization of literacy on a global scale as well as among industrialized countries where the concern is more with functional literacy rather than conventional literacy per se.

Many of the new ideas found expression in the Declaration of Persepolis (1975). Literacy was herein defined as:

> . . . not just the process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, but a contribution to the liberation of man and to his full development. Thus conceived, literacy creates the conditions for the acquisition of a critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and of its aims; it also stimulates initiative and his participation in the creation of projects capable of acting upon the world, of transforming it, and of defining the aims of an authentic human development. It should open the way to a mastery of techniques and human relations.

The British have also stated:

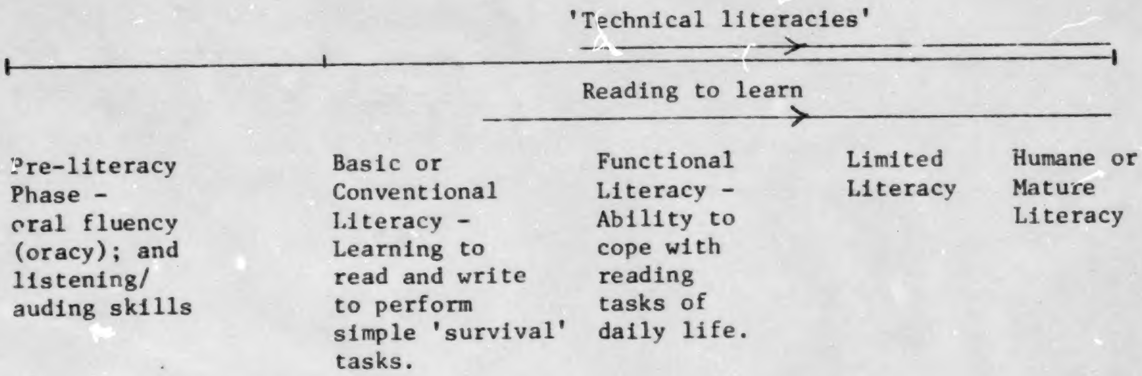
> Adult literacy is an essential part of continuing education: it is a much wider process than just teaching men and women who have fallen through the net of education provision to read and write. It is not even confined to the separate teaching of English: it permeates the whole learning and developmental process. All the evidence points to a greater need for literacy skills, not less. For adults as well as children, it is a language for life. It is not therefore a process to which a time limit can be set. (ALRA, 1976, p.40.)

It is clear from the literature that literacy has the following properties:

1. Literacy is a means, not an end in itself.
2. Literacy contains many skills, not only reading and writing.
3. Literacy is a tool for self-fulfillment.
4. Literacy involves participation of the learner and leads to participation in society.

There is a literacy continuum which, if recognized, helps to make sense of the various definitions of literacy. The definitions encountered in isolation from this continuum often only serve to confuse the reader. The continuum may be illustrated by Figure 1.

Figure 1. Literacy Continuum


'Technical literacies'
Reading to learn
Pre-literacy Phase - oral fluency (oracy); and listening/ auding skills
Basic or Conventional Literacy - Learning to read and write to perform simple 'survival' tasks.
Functional Literacy - Ability to cope with reading tasks of daily life.
Limited Literacy
Humane or Mature Literacy

In Figure 1, the 'survival' literacy tasks would include being able to read and write one's name and address, recognize and understand basic social sight words and write some simple sentences for communication purposes. Aperson without these skills, has been variously labelled 'illiterate', 'non-reader', and 'reading disabled'.

Since the Adult Performance Level (APL) Study of Texas (1975), functional literacy has been interpreted by many adult educators as functional competency. The study defined this term as the application of a set of skills to a set of general knowledge areas required for adult living.

The skills were the communication skills of reading, writing, speaking, listening and viewing; computation; problem-solving, and interpersonal relations. The general knowledge areas consisted of consumer economics, health, government and law, occupational knowledge and community resources (including transportation). The influence of the APL Study is seen in the more recent definition of functional literacy by Hunter and Harman (1979):

> Functional literacy is the possession of skills perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfill their own self-determined objectives as family and community members, citizens, consumers, job-holders, and members of social, religious, or other associations of their choosing. (p.7)

The element of self-perception in this definition, has also been highlighted by Jones and Charnley (1978, p.4).

Functional literacy is the term with which many people have difficulty because, as has been demonstrated above, it is relative to the contexts in which a person operates. A person may be functionally literate in his/her present environment or job situation, but if new requirements are introduced, persons with limited reading skills could find themselves functionally illiterate in the new situation. Thus, a limited literacy stage has been recognized (Lyman, 1977, p.15) in which technical prose, for example, might be beyond the ability of the reader.

Humane literacy has been defined as "the ability to read with comprehension and judgment the works of the best practitioners of the language, philosophers and poets in all their guises." (Language and Literacy in Canada, p.1) Others, such as Lyman (1977) would refer to this stage as 'mature literacy' and place it in the broader context of a person being able to read and understand nearly all materials except the most esoteric and technical materials beyond the person's interest.

Basic literacy is the foundation of learning. Once onecan read, reading to learn is possible and other subject and skill areas may be mastered, thus there are several 'technical literacies' such as: numeracy (literacy of numbers); cartolacy (literacy of map-reading); scientific literacy; computer literacy; visual literacy; environmental literacy; civic and political literacy and so on.

How should literacy be defined? In the words of Dauzat and Dauzat (1977, p. 40) "That depends upon the point of departure and the intended destination".

Learning and Corrections

The CAAE's Standing Committee on Learning and Corrections was asked to define functional literacy for penitentiary inmates re-entering society. As Correctional Institutions develop their own sub-cultures, functional literacy within a penitentiary setting could be something quite different from functional literacy on 'the outside', as some of the above arguments should make clear. However, the focus of the definitional task was to be the preparation of inmates for participation in life on 'the outside'.

'The outside' works on a system of certification for educational attainment and job acquisition. Thus, we are inevitably drawn into 'quantification' of literacy, and the 'numbers game' mentioned by Ross.

The equivalent of four years of primary schooling has generally been accepted internationally as necessary for basic literacy. In the Canadian situation, this measure translates for statistical purposes into 'less than grade 5' - a situation which is supported by Statistics Canada. After this level of attainment, learners have a better chance of retaining their literacy skills and becoming more autonomous learners. Retention of literacy, however, also depends on other factors such as motivation, literacy environment, and so on. For technologically developed societies, the equivalent of eight years of schooling (less than grade 9, for statistical purposes) has been considered necessary for functional literacy. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in the U.S.A., for example, defined a functional illiterate as "one who has completed eight grades of school or less." (Cook, 1977, p. 84.) The Canadian Association for Adult Education has held to the same standard, while also acknowledging that higher levels are needed. (Morrison, 1975.)

In Canada, entry to most skill courses demands a grade 10 educational attainment. Only one or two trades accept a grade 8 entry level. Many require grade 11 or grade 12/ Thus, if an inmate is to function in the labour market upon release, an acceptable 'employment literacy' level would be at least a grade 10 educational attainment. Further, in relation to readability of materials, using the Fry graph, it has been found that many government forms, manuals and other documents are written at a grade 9-10 level or higher. (For readability of selected magazines, see Anderson, 1978.) Extensive research in the United States has revealed the difficulty of training manuals in the military (Sticht and Zapf, 1976). In many cases, the readability of the materials greatly exceeds the reading ability of the recruits.

Educational Levels of Inmates

Table 1 indicates declared educational levels among inmates, according to a computer print-out for the beginning of February, 1981. It is interesting to note that the percentage of inmates with less than grade 9 education ((39.5 percent) is nearly 10 percent greater than among the general Canadian population with the same educational level (28.4 percent in 1976). Furthermore, the inmate population that has less than grade 10 educational attainment (78.2 percent) is 30 percent higher than among the general Canadian population with the same

Table 1. Educational Level of Inmates in Canadian Federal Correctional Institutions by Region, 1981.

Region		Declared Educational Level			Total Number of Inmates		
		Less than Grade 5	Grades 5 - 8	Grades 9 - 10	Education Declared	Education Undeclared	Grand Total
Atlantic	#	42	264	162	525	368	893
	%[a]	15.6	12.7	7.0	8.8	10.1	9.3
	%[b]	8.0	50.3	30.9	100		
Quebec	#	103	710	758	1987	1060	3047
	%	38.1	34.0	33.0	33.4	29.1	31.8
	%	5.2	35.7	38.1	100		
Ontario	#	61	537	651	1609	811	2420
	%	22.6	25.8	28.3	27.0	22.3	25.2
	%	3.8	33.4	40.5	100		
Prairies	#	39	300	375	894	944	1838
	%	14.4	14.4	16.3	15.0	25.9	19.2
	%	4.4	33.6	41.9	100		
British Columbia	#	24	267	342	908	338	1246
	%	8.9	12.8	14.9	15.3	9.3	13.0
	%	2.6	29.4	37.7	100		
Other[c]	#	1	6	12	27	122	149
	%	.4	.3	.5	.5	3.3	1.6
	%	3.7	22.2	44.4	100		
TOTAL	#	270	2084	2300	5950	3643	9593
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100
	%	4.5	35.0	38.7	100		

[a] First percentage figure in each region should be read vertically.

[b] Second percentage figure in each region should be read horizontally.

[c] Inmates transferred to various provincial correctional institutions.

Source: Table compiled from data provided by the Correctional Service of Canada, February, 1981.

educational level (47.4 percent in 1976). It is assumed that, given the weighting of declared educational levels, those inmates not declaring their educational level are also likely to be weighted in the lower educational levels. While these statistics reveal that the number of inmates requiring basic literacy is low, there are very substantial numbers requiring functional literacy training as a preparation for life on the 'outside'.

Why do people read? Here are some purposes:

> As a ritual, or from force of habit.
> From a sense of duty.
> Merely to know and understand current happenings.
> For immediate personal satisfaction or value.
> To meet practical demands of daily living.
> To further avocational interests.
> To carry on and promote professional or vocational interests.
> To meet personal-social demands.
> To meet socio-civic needs and demands (good citizenship).
> For self-development or improvement, including extension of cultural background.
> To satisfy strictly intellectual demands.
> To satisfy spiritual needs. (Staiger, 1979.)

Most of these purposes apply to life on 'the inside' as well as on 'the outside', and serve to remind us that while the focus of most training may be towards employment, literacy should also lead to the full development of human beings and good citizenship.

What then constitutes 'functional literacy' for penitentiary inmates? A Tentative answer might be: that critical threshold in learning which enables a person to become an autonomous individual capable of reflecting upon his/her circumstances and transforming the self and behaviour so that, on'the outside", the conditions which led to incarceration may be recognized and avoided. Personal transformation on its own, however, is probably not sufficient, as societal conditions are also changing. Upon release, inmates have to take their place among and compete with the general population for economic self-sufficiency. If a former inmate is to become acculturated to the dominant society, the best educational preparation for the employment market and life on 'the outside' should be provided.

While the correctional setting provides a distinctive living and learning environment, studies have shown that inmates of low educational achievement have hidden learning potential and that educational programmes may affect recidivist rates (Waksman, 1979; Beadle, 1965; Glenn, 1966; Sollie, 1966; Zeller, 1965; Ayers and Duguid, 1980.).

For the balance of the workshop, I would like to discuss the issues raised in this paper and share our mutual experiences related to literacy training either in the correctional setting or on 'the outside'. On my visits to provincial and federal corrections centres, and more recently in England, there appears to be a common preoccupation with materials. A display of some recent curricula and supplementary materials has been arranged for those of you who may be interested in these immediately practical aspects of literacy training.

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*The results of these studies, along with three others, were summarized in Audrey M. Thomas, "A Review of the Literature on Certain Aspects of Penal Adult Education", unpublished paper prepared for course requirements in the Department of Measurement and Evaluation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, November, 1970.

CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

Glen Farrell, Kenneth Peterson, Jacques Quesnel and Anne Harley

Our objective during this final session of our conference is that of attempting a summary overview of what has occurred during the past two days. In acting as Chairman for this session, I am really pinch-hitting for Dr. Walter Pitman, who is the President of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. I know that Walter was very much looking forward to doing a conference wrap-up and sincerely regrets that he was unable to be with us for this conference.

Michael Ignatieff began our conference by saying that he was not going to be priestly but rather he hoped to be controversial. It seems to me that a conference summarizer cannot help but be perceived as a presumptuous priest and, because the objective is to summarize, will inevitably be controversial.

However, I have help, for which I am grateful. My colleagues at the table have each agreed to make a short statement about their personal reactions to the conference. In that way, we thought we might include more of the many different reactions which I am sure exist.

They are:

Kenneth Peterson,	Assistant Warden at the Kent and Mountain Institutions. Ken is responsible for education programs in his capacity as Assistant Warden.
Jacques Quesnel,	Project Manager for the Five Year Operational Plan to Up-grade the Education and Training Program, Correctional Service of Canada. He is on secondment from the Ottawa Board of Education.
Anne Harley,	Member of the Board of Directors of CAAE and a member of that Association's Committee on Learning and Corrections. She is currently the Director of Continuing Education at the University of Western Ontario.

Personal Observations: Kenneth Peterson

At the conclusion of this, the first National Conference on Prison Education, I should like to make a few brief comments.

First, I would like to point out that the purpose of the Correctional Service of Canada in providing educational programs to the inmates in federal institutions is twofold. We are as anxious to attenuate ignorance as we are to reduce recividism.

Through the educational programs, we try to help inmates broaden their horizons and expand their visions of themselves in both time and space. These programs, which seem to appeal to about one-third of the inmate population, are conducted on a voluntary enrolment basis. Once in the programs, the inmate soon realizes that any accomplishments he makes are made for himself, and by himself. Also, the school area becomes an island of sanity in a sea of madness. It is made this way by both the teachers and the students, and by some degree of courage and risk on both their parts. Indeed, as our keynote speaker on Tuesday evening mentioned, everything must be contestable, no position can be exempt from justification. Fortunately, there is a two-way street which is as relevant to the inmate culture as it is to the penitentiary system. We recognize that it is the nature of man to rather consistently violate his own terms in society. We do not try to defend this habit, otherwise we reach an impasse. We hope that through academic discipline and intellectual growth the inmate student will internalize the thoughts and history of his culture, and by so doing, will experience some new sense of morality.

What we do then, is very much an act of faith. We try to enable the inmate student, to the greatest extent possible, to become the author of himself and the successful mediator of his universe. Not an easy task in the harshness of prison!

Some of our particular concerns have been echoed by speakers who drew attention to the differences in needs between the long-term and the short-term prisoner. On the one hand, we need to have programs without end for sentences without end; on the other hand we need programs that are effective for the thirty or sixty day sentences served at provincial gaols. Indeed, it often seems that we devote the least attention to those inmates who are doing short provincial terms and who would stand to benefit most immediately from education.

It was encouraging to hear the concerns mentioned during the Conference for further professional education for the teachers in prisons. Working for the past five years under the litany of failure, according to the gospel of Martinson, it becomes difficult for teachers not to give up hope and succumb to the corrosive cynicism of "nothing works".

Finally, with respect to the comments that were made about Bell's study, which identified administrative indifference and neglect as major factors contributing to the less than stunning success of programs, I would point out that I know of no branch or department of government that does not agree with these findings. Nevertheless, let us seriously ask the question, how much social intervention would we be willing to tolerate, and how much would we be willing to pay, if the way were layed open for any of us to bring about sweeping changes?

Personal Observations: Jacques Quesnel

Correctional education in Canada dates as far back as 1835 when the provincial jail of Upper Canada opened at Kingston. The regulations then contained the following:

> "Provision shall be made as far as practicable in all goals for religious instruction of prisoners of both sexes, and also for their instruction in reading and writing."

Thus education has been part of penitentiary activity in Canada for over a century. The law has provided for education and training in penitentiaries. Funds have been made available.

This conference has placed much emphasis on the University Program developed at Matsqui to the extent that some participants are wondering if this is the only program available to inmates in the Canadian Correctional Service.

May I point out that the Education and Training Program is made up of six elements.

1. Basic Education Courses designed for those inmates who have not reached grade 5.
2. The Upgrading Courses. Courses designed to prepare inmates for vocational courses Grades 6 to 10, GED, BTSD. Senior Management of the Service has recently endorsed a policy that requires that special attention be given to inmates that have not reached Grade 10.
3. Secondary School Courses. Courses leading to a Grade 12 diploma. These programs account for 58% of the enrolment.
4. Vocational courses.
5. Community college course.
6. University courses. 14% of the enrolment.

Having made this clarification I would like to suggest that the methodology used in the University Program at Matsqui, Kent and William Head be considered as applicable in the other elements of the E & T Program. I see no reason why cognitive deficiencies, to use the jargon, cannot be remedied by the application of this strategy at the secondary level indeed at any level especially when you are dealing with adults.

This conference has offered many different and sometimes conflicting points of view. This has been most stimulating as evidenced by the discussions that took place yesterday in the group sessions.

If an education and training program is to be developed along the lines suggested here substantial progress will have to be made in the following areas:

a) Priority

Education and Training must be accorded a higher priority, not only at National Headquarters, but also at the Regional Headquarters as well as in the penitentiaries, and to be regarded as much more than just a means of occupying inmates' time.

b) Staffing

A successful program of education and training especially in penitentiaries, requires teachers, as Dr. Ignatieff suggests, of high quality that "must be able to justify themselves as moral actors no less than the prisoners".

Present staffing practices will not allow us to achieve the desired results. Staffing has to be under the control of educators and not managers.

c) Supervision

Most penitentiary schools are supervised by a Principal, an Assistant Principal (Academic) and an Assistant Principal (Vocational). What is happening is that Principals are increasingly required to assume duties and tasks that have no bearing on education and are finding that they have insufficient time to discharge their primary responsibility in the area of Education and Training.

En terminant je voudrais remercier les organisateurs de cette conférence. Tout a fonctionné sur des roulettes. Les échanges ont été très profitables.

Personal Observations: Anne Harley

In my conference summary I would like to evoke the spirit of the goddess Athena. I am not a psychic or a mystic and I am not going to hold a seance. I maintain, in fact, that the spirit of Athena has been with us throughout the entire conference and maybe in fact she was the guiding hand behind the planning committee.

It is very appropriate for Athena to be here. She is, after all, the Goddess of Wisdom and by extension, learning and education. In this particular case she may be replacing the Goddess of Justice who appears frequently in corrections literature blindfolded, holding a balance scales. Athena sprang fully grown and fully armed from the head of Zeus. Athena is not only the Goddess of Wisdom but also the Goddess of War - a wise goddess who carries a sword.

Since those concerned with prison education need to be not only wise, but also warriors, I would like to organize my summary along these two separate themes directly related to the role of the goddess; the theme of wisdom and the theme of war.

WISDOM

I do not want to dwell on the theme of wisdom, for each of us will take away from this conference our own very personal learnings and wisdoms. In my mind, however, two very wise things were said which I would like to draw to your attention. Last night Madam Céline Hervieux-Payette, Parliamentary Secretary to the Solicitor-General of Canada said "The first task of education is to enhance the ability to handle freedom, with all the responsibility that freedom involves". And yesterday, Dr. Lucien Morin asked us to consider the thought that "love is the air for the iron lung of justice".

This conference has been an opportunity to share the collective Canadian wisdom on prison education. The conference organizers have done a marvellous job of bringing together so many of us from so many different backgrounds and locations. Input on the "state of the art" was received from historians, a man of letters, politicians, inmates, prison teachers, adult educators, correction administrators, researchers and other educators.

As warriors in the field of prison education, if we are wise we will know who our allies are. As a result of this conference, the foundation has been laid for us to identify our allies and to continue the sharing of ideas and networking that will be so necessary in the future. Not only have connections been made between prison educators and adult educators, but the opportunity has been presented for all of us to relate to this topic, whether as students, politicians, administrators, educators or researchers.

WAR

The conference in itself is a victory. Michael Ignatieff observed this the first night when he said "a small historical phenomenon is occuring in which a new group is making a claim that education is a method that works in corrections".

In the area of prison education the battle is only beginning and the strategies are yet to be clarified. We have only begun to define the larger goals. On the philosophical level "education as a universal right for prisoners" has been mentioned as a goal several times. On the political level I noticed recently that the United States Federal Department of Education has established a "corrections desk" within the department, funded by the National Institute of Corrections. Perhaps politically one of our goals should be to have a "corrections education section" within each provincial ministry of education.

There are many battles yet to be fought in the field of prison education. If we are each to become warriors of Athena, we will have to identify the jobs to be done. I have listed several battles which have emerged for me as being important. They are divided into three major areas:

1) battles on behalf of the inmate learner
2) battles in relationship to the public and the education of the public
3) miscellaneous skirmishes

Battles on Behalf of the Inmate Learner

1) The emphasis at this conference has been on university programs within federal penitentiaries. We must not lose sight of the fact that the bulk of the inmate population is not ready for university education. A priority in the future must be the delivery of ABE, Literacy and Remedial Education programs within the institutions.

2) The gap between the federal and provincial correction system regarding education must be bridged. For example programs for people who are only available for learning for a three month time period must be developed.

3) Programs for native peoples and female offenders must be considered. The elderly within the prison population are also becoming a small but important concern. Very valuable connections can be made between prison educators and adult educators on the outside who are knowledgeable in the field of programming for native peoples, women and the elderly.

Battles in Relationship to the Public and the Education of the Public

The general public needs to be encouraged to consider their stake in corrections. As Arnold Edinborough said "we have to tell the outside in language that they can understand that the medical model is dead and the promise of education is imminent". Separate target groups for a PR campaign must be identified. These would include elected officials, the general public, the press and media.

Miscellaneous Skirmishes

1) Research and program development. We have only begun to explore the range of educational programs and the role of colleges, universities and school board vis-a-vis prison education.

2) Evaluation. Because of the debate around the role of education in corrections, evaluation of programs will be very important to provide continuous feedback into program development.

3) Outreach and support. We must reach out and support our remarkable colleagues on the inside, the teachers, administrators and guards who recognize the need and the right for continuing education. Adult educators have to be more familiar with learning in the prison and the issues that are involved. Links between educators have to be more formal - provincially and nationally.

4) The future. For me one of the most important things said at this conference was said yesterday by Roby Kidd: "We have to find a mechanism to continue to do what we have done here - to continue to talk - to sustain our interest and to develop co-operation. We need to take the time to see when and where we can work together".

To fulfill Roby Kidd's challenge I would like to make the following recommendation. Because of the C.A.A.E.'s interest in advocacy on behalf of the adult learner, in general, and the inmate learners specifically, I would RECOMMEND THAT THE CORRECTIONAL SERVICE OF CANADA AND THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION FORM A COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE WITH A VIEW TO IDENTIFYING THE TASKS TO BE DONE. The tasks (or battles) that have arisen as a result of this conference have to be prioritized, set into a short term and long term strategy, funded and delegated to appropriate groups.

In ending I would like to recall the remark of John Braithwaite when he opened the conference on Thursday night. He said "We will need the combined co-operative efforts of all of us as we begin to solve the problems of prison education". We are all warriors of Athena, we all have a role to play in the battles that lie ahead for the promotion of prison education. I can only ask each of you as you leave to pick up your sword at the door.

Final Perspective: Glen Farrell

As a final perspective, I would like to offer some personal comments of my own.

1. That we not lose sight of the notion that sound educational practice is just that - regardless of its context. Admittedly, each context has its particular constraints and opportunities and it is on those we must focus, rather than creating testimonials to our own professional altars in the form of labels and categories for what is, in fact, a common sense process. This is, I think, what Arnold Edinborough was telling us when he stated that "in principle, what is taught in prisons should be no different".

2. Having said that, I must remind you of Michael Ignatieff's statement that those who judge, rule and educate are not exempt from having to justify their actions to those they judge, rule and educate. We cannot do that if we adopt that approach to program planning most commonly found in the formal school system. That which primarily utilizes the content to be learned as the source for defining educational outcomes rather than the individual learner and his or her particular experience and context. Those who have worked most with adults will understand the distinction most easily.

3. We must not permit the popular sport known as "bashing the academic" to protect our minds from dreaming dreams that never were and asking "why not?". Lucien Morin said much to me in his contrast between justificative education and reconcilatory education. His reference to Martin Buber reminded me of the excitement I had a long time ago in discovering his work and trying to understand it - something I confess I had allowed to fade.

4. Joe Hudson, Bob Ross and Todd Rogers, with strong support yesterday from Roby Kidd, all talked of the need for evaluation and/or research and the process of its conduct. If this need received one-tenth as much real attention as it does rhetorical tribute, it would be much better met than it currently is.

5. Along the same line, we must clearly distinguish between the communication of the results of evaluation studies and the proselytizing of a particular point of view. This seems to me important, both from the receiver's and the sender's point of view. Arnold Edinborough reminded us to avoid panaceas, as did Steve Duguid when he said "This has been my experience - I don't know if it works across the board. I think it will, but you must see for yourself".

6. Finally, may I remind you of Keith Whetstone and his personal story told so articulately. Judge it as you will, but I believe the process of learning is a fundamental requisite to personal growth and change - something with which we must all cope throughout our lives, whether in prison, or not.

I hope that each of you take back from this conference some new ideas, some new friends, and at least an embryonic national network on which to build and stay in touch. May I on your behalf thank our many presenters for helping us do that.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Plenary Sessions

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ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH is President and Chief Executive Officer, the Council for Business and the Arts in Canada. He is the author of numerous publications incuding One Church, Two Nations and Some Camel, Some Needle and has been a member of the John Howard Society of Ontario for more than twenty-five years.

CELINE HERVIEUX-PAYETTE worked for a number of parliamentary commissions and served as member and later chairman of the Le Gardeau Regional School Board before being elected as Member of Parliament for Montreal-Mercier in 1979. She has been Parliamentary Secretary to the Solicitor General of Canada since March 1980.

JOE HUDSON is Principal, Control Evaluations, Office of the Auditor General of Canada. He has had a variety of posts in correctional institutions and the Minnesota Department of Corrections and taught in the School of Social Development, University of Minnesota, Duluth. He has also conducted a number of evaluation studies edited several books and published articles in scholarly and professional journals particularly on evaluation and correctional models.

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF is a Senior Research Fellow co-directing the research project 'Political Economy and Society 1750-1850' at King's College Research Centre, King's College, Cambridge. He has taught in the History Department at the University of British Columbia and is author of A Just Measure of Pain.

J. ROBY KIDD is Professor of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He has held senior positions in national and international organizations, was Chairman of the OISE Review of Penitentiary Education and Training, served as editor of the international journal of adult education and has published a number of books including How Adults Learn.

LUCIEN MORIN is Professor of Philosphy of Education, Universite de Quebec a Trois Rivieres. He served on the OISE Review and conducted the feasibility study for the Education and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada which lead to the establishment of university programs at Laval Institution. He has published a number of articles on creativity, teacher education, socialization of the child and moral judgment and two books, one of which is translated into English, Values in Social Education.

IAN MORRISON is Executive Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and Chairman of the Committee of National Voluntary Organization. He has been President of Frontier College and published articles on adult basic education, literacy and manpower.

ROBERT R. ROSS is Professor of Criminology, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa. He has conducted two studies for the Education and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada, published articles in scholarly journals on child abuse, behaviour modification and correctional effectiveness and with Paul Gendreau edited, Effective Correctional Treatment.

W. TODD ROGERS is Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, University of British Columbia. He has conducted and reported on a number of evaluation studies in Canada and in the United States and was chairman of the Task Force on Performance Measures for the Education and Training Division of the Correctional Service of Canada.

KEITH WHETSTONE has been a student in the University of Victoria Program since January 1977 and a tutor in the Program since the Spring of 1980.

Workshop Sessions

RANDALL ACKLEY, Director, Centre for Education Rehabilitation Studies, University Within Walls, University of Alaska, Juneau.

J. DOUGLAS AYERS, Professor and Coordinator, Program at Abbotsford, Agassiz and Metchosin, University of Victoria.

DONALD S. CAMPBELL, Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, Queen's University.

RONALD B. DAVIS, Research Associate, Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University.

BRIAN FAWCETT, author of six books of poetry and prose and part-time instructor in the University of Victoria Program.

PAUL GENDREAU, Regional Coordinating Psychologist, Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services Rideau Correctional Centre, Burritts Rapids, Ontario.

BEVERLY GROGAN, Director of Support Services, Univeristy Within Walls, University of Alaska, Juneau.

WAYNE KNIGHTS, Instructor and Coordinator of University of Victoria Program, Matsqui Institution.

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JOHN E. LEWIS, Instructor for Frontenac Board of Education Program, Millhaven Institution.

MARK E. MCKECHNIE, Instructor for Frontenac Board of Education Program, Millhaven Institution.

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